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THE
HISTORY
OF THE

English Baptists,

FROM THE
REFORMATION

To the Beginning of the
Reign of King GEORGE I.

V O L. II.

CONTAINING
Their History from the Restoration of King
CHARLES II. to the End of his Reign.

By THO. CROSBY.

L O N D O N :

Printed for the AUTHOR, and sold by him at his House on
Horsly-down, Southwark; and AARON WARD, Book-
seller, at the *King's-Arms* in *Little-Britain*.

MDCCXXXIX.

TO THE
READER.

IT may be expected, and I did intend, that this Volume should have contained all I at first proposed to the publick. But since my publication of the former Volume, I have had such materials communicated to me, that I could not in justice to the communicators omit them, without incurring the just censure of a partial historian. Besides, it having been objected to me, that a more early account of the English Baptists might be obtained; it gave a new turn to my thoughts, and put me upon considering the state and condition of the Christian Religion, from the first plantation of the Gospel in England. Now in this enquiry, so much has occurred to me, as carries in it more than a probability, that the first English Christians were Baptists. I could not therefore pass by so material a fact in their favour: And because it cannot now be placed where it properly belongs, I have fixed it by way of preface to this second Volume. Moreover, in my first Volume, I did exhibit part of a Confession of Faith, published by the Baptists about the year 1611, taken from Mr. Robinson, pastor of the English Church at Leyden; who in the year 1614, printed some remarks upon it, and said, it was published by the remainder of Mr. Smith's company. Whether Mr. Smith had left this people, or whether upon some disagreement, they departed from him, I cannot say. It is not very material, nor at this distance of time very easy to determine. But as I have lately obtained a Declaration of Faith published by them; and as the same may give us some light, respecting the opinions of the English Baptists, in those early days of the Reformation; so I have placed it, tho' out of due time, in the Appendix of this Volume, N^o. I.

To the READER.

And the rather, because they declare, ' they are forced against their whole minds to publish it, for the clearing of their innocency in such things, as men do commonly keep up in their account ; and all to further their reckoning in contempt with men of all estates.' I may justly add ; the same practice is continued among some of the Pædobaptists, even to the present time : as appears by the late histories of the Reverend Mr. Neal, and Mr. Lewis ; both which I have already replied to.

Also in my first Volume I took notice, that the Baptists presented an Humble Supplication to King James I. the Parliament then sitting ; and gave only a short account thereof. This has been questioned by some : and the Reverend Mr. Lewis seems to doubt it, because he says, The Anabaptists are said to have presented unto King James I. in Parliament time, their Humble Supplication. — But this I have not seen. Therefore I have now placed it also in the Appendix of this Volume, N^o. II.

I take this opportunity to acknowledge and amend a mistake, pointed out to me by a worthy learned gentleman, (whose modesty deemed his information of so little importance, as to chuse not to be mentioned) in the preface to the first Volume, p. 28. where I denominate Monsieur Bayle a Papist. I did not then know he had again embraced the reformed religion : and desire my Readers to correct that paragraph, by erasing being, and over-writing who had been.

T H E



THE PREFACE.



THE gospel of *Christ Jesus*, the Son of God, was begun by the ministry of *John*; who, as the herald of the Lord *Messias*, went before him to proclaim his first approaches, and prepare men, by *Repentance* and *Baptism*, for this new dispensation, which was the accomplishment of ancient prophecies.

This was the first person that we read of *John the first baptizer* in the Holy Scriptures, that used *Baptism* as a sacrament, and initiated his disciples by it. From hence he derived the title of *Baptist*, or *Baptizer*; as being therein the author of some new and strange practice among them. For although there were *divers washings* used among the *Jews*, by God's appointment, yet that it was their custom to baptize those that were made proselytes, and initiate them, and their children, into the mystery of the *Jews* religion by *baptism*, as some pretend, is a groundless opinion. There is no such thing mention'd in the law of
a *Moses*;

Moses ; and therefore, if there was such a practice, it must be a *tradition of the elders*, and fell among their other superstitions, under the censure of our blessed Saviour. And is it reasonable to suppose, an Institution of the gospel was founded upon a sinful custom of the *Jews* ? But the scriptures give no account of any such practice. Those *Rabbies* that do make mention of any such thing, lived many years since the death of our blessed Saviour. Their writings are full of lies and blasphemy, and therefore no credit can be given to them ; nay, they contradict one another even in this very point ; and those who deny it, are as ancient and as learned as the affirmers of it.

*Received his
commission
from heaven.
Luke iii. 2.*

This great prophet *John*, had an immediate commission from heaven, before he enter'd upon the actual administration of his office. And as the *English Baptists* adhere closely to this principle, that *John* the *Baptist* was by divine command, the first commissioned to preach the gospel, and *baptize* by *immersion*, those that received it ; and that this practice has been ever since maintained and continued in the world to this present day ; so it may not be improper to consider the state of religion in this kingdom ; it being agreed on all hands, that the plantation of the gospel here was very early, even in the *Apostles* days. I shall therefore enquire, when, and by whom (as far as history can inform us) the gospel was first preach'd in *Great Britain*. And here it must be granted, that historians give a very different account ; yet they agree in this, that the early reception of the gospel was either from an
Apostle

Apostle or apostolical men; and that Christianity was maintained at first in its purity, and preserved it self for some years, from the errors and superstitions of the church of *Rome*.

I shall begin with the account of that honest historian, the reverend Mr. *Fuller*;
 ‘ Who it was, *says he*, that first brought over *Ch. History*,
 ‘ the gospel into *Britain*, is very uncertain. *Book I. p. 3.*
 ‘ The conversioner (understand *Parsons* the
 ‘ Jesuit) mainly stickleth for the Apostle
 ‘ *Peter* to have first preach’d the gospel here.’
 And having confuted *Parsons*’s five arguments, which he had brought to prove it, says; ‘ We have staid the longer in confusing these arguments, because, from *Peter*’s preaching here, *Parsons* would infer an obligation of this *Island* to the see of *Rome*.’
 He further observes; That some would have *Anno 41.*
James, the son of *Zebedee*; others *St. Paul*;
 others *Simon* the *Canaanite*; and others *Aristobulus*, though not an *Apostle*, yet an *Apostle*’s mate, to be the first planters of religion in this *Island*. ‘ The result of all is this, *says Ibid. p. 4.*
 ‘ he, *Churches* are generally ambitious to entitle
 ‘ themselves to *Apostles* for their founders;
 ‘ conceiving they should otherwise be esteemed
 ‘ but as of the *second form*, and *younger*
 ‘ *house*, if they received the faith from any
 ‘ inferior preacher.— Whereas, indeed, it
 ‘ matters not if the *doctrine* be the *same*,
 ‘ whether the *Apostles* preached it by themselves, or by their successors. We see little certainty can be extracted, who first brought the gospel hither. ’Tis so long since, the *British church* hath forgotten her own *infancy*, who were her first *Godfathers*.

‘ We see the *light* of the *Word* shined here ;
 ‘ but see not who *kindled* it.’

Anno 63.

Now amongst the converts of the natives of this Island, in this first age to Christianity, *Claudia*, surnamed *Ruffina*, is reputed a principal ; she was wife to *Pudens*, a *Roman* senator ; and that this is the *Claudia*, a *Briton*
 2 Tim. iv. 21. born, mentioned by *St. Paul*, then living at *Rome*. *Mr. Fuller* endeavours to prove against the exceptions of *Parsons* the Jesuit, by answering his objections to the contrary ; and then says, ‘ The issue of all is this : *Claudia*’s story, as a *British* Christian, stands ‘ unremov’d, for any force of these objecti- ‘ ons ; tho’ one need not be much engaged here- ‘ in. — But now to return again to the prime ‘ planters of religion in *Britain*. As for all ‘ those formerly reckon’d up, there is in au- ‘ thors but a tinkling mention of them ; and ‘ the sound of their preaching low and little, ‘ in comparison of those loud peals which are ‘ rung of *Joseph* of *Arimathea* his coming
 Ibid. p. 6, 7. ‘ hither. — Whilst *Philip* (whether the ‘ Apostle or Deacon, is uncertain) continued ‘ preaching the gospel in *France*, he sent *Jo- ‘ seph* of *Arimathea* over into *Britain*, with ‘ *Joseph* his son, and ten other associates, to ‘ convert the natives of that Island to Chri- ‘ stianity. These coming into *Britain*, found ‘ such entertainment from *Arviragus* the king, ‘ that though he would not be dissuaded from ‘ his idolatry by their preaching, yet he al- ‘ low’d them twelve hides of ground (an hide ‘ is as much as, being well manur’d, will ‘ maintain a family ; or, as others say, as ‘ much as one plow can handsomely manage) ‘ in a desolate Island, full of fens and bram- ‘ bles,

The P R E F A C E.

v

bles, called the *Ynis Wittrin*; since, by translation, *Glassenbury*. Here they built a small church; and, by direction from *Gabriel* the Archangel, dedicated it to the Virgin *Mary*, encompassing it about with a church-yard; in which church, afterwards, *Joseph* was buried: And here these twelve lived many years, devoutly serving God, and converting many to the Christian religion.

Mr. *Fuller* says, he dares not wholly deny the substance of this story, though the leaven of monkery hath much swollen, and puffed up the circumstance thereof; — and that as this relation is presented unto us, it hath a young man's brow with an old man's beard. I mean, says he, novel superstitions disguised with pretended antiquity. In all this story of *Joseph's* living at *Glassenbury*, there is no one passage reported therein beareth better proportion to time and place than the church which he is said to erect; whose dimensions, materials, and making, are thus presented unto us. It had in length sixty foot, and twenty six in breadth, made of rods watled or interwoven:— In this small oratory, *Joseph* with his companions, watched, prayed, fasted, and preached, having high meditations under a low roof, and large hearts betwixt narrow walls. Let not then stately modern churches disdain to stoop with their highest steeples, reverently doing homage to this poor structure, as their first platform and precedent. And let their chequer'd pavements no more disdain this Oratory's plain

a 3

floor,

‘ floor, than her thatched covering doth envy
 ‘ their leaden roofs.

Ibid. p. 8.

‘ By all this it does not appear, says *Ful-*
ler, That the first preachers of the gospel
 ‘ in *Britain* did so much as touch at *Rome* ;
 ‘ much less that they received any command
 ‘ or commission thence to convert *Britain*.

Vol. I. p. 69.

Mr. *John Fox*, when treating of the first
 planters of the gospel in *Britain*, cites *Nice-*
phorus ; who saith, ‘ That *Simon Zelotes*
 ‘ came into *Britain*. Some others alledge,
 ‘ out of *Gildas, de Victoria Aurel. Ambrosii*,
 ‘ That *Joseph of Arimatby*, after the disper-
 ‘ sion of the *Jews*, was sent by *Philip* the
 ‘ *Apostle*, from *France* to *Britain*, about the
 ‘ year of our Lord, threescore and three ;
 ‘ and here remained in this land all his time ;
 ‘ and so, with his fellows, laid the first
 ‘ foundation of Christian faith among the
 ‘ *Britain* people. Whereupon other preach-
 ‘ ers and teachers coming afterward, con-
 ‘ firmed the same, and increased it more.”
 And, for confirmation hereof, he alledges
 the testimonies of *Gildas, Tertullian, Ori-*
gen, and the words also of the letter of
Eleutherius ; which import no less, but that
 the faith of Christ was here in *England*, a-
 mong the *British* people, long before *Eleu-*
therius’s time, and before king *Lucius* was
 converted.

Vol. I. p. 137.

‘ *Gildas*, our countryman, says he, in his
 ‘ history affirmeth plainly, That *Britain* re-
 ‘ ceived the gospel in the reign of *Tiberius*
 ‘ the emperor, under whom Christ suffered.

‘ The second reason is out of *Tertullian* ;
 ‘ who living near about, or rather somewhat
 ‘ before

' before the time of this *Eleutherius*, in his
 ' book *Contra Judæos*, manifestly importeth
 ' the same. Where the said *Tertullian*, te-
 ' stifying how the gospel was dispersed abroad
 ' by the sound of the *Apostles*, and there rec-
 ' koning up the *Medes*, *Persians*, &c. reciteth
 ' also the parts of *Britain* which the *Romans*
 ' could never attain to ; and reporteth the
 ' same now to be subject to Christ. — Note
 ' here, how, among other, divers believing
 ' nations, he mentioneth also the wildest
 ' places of *Britain*, to be of the same num-
 ' ber, and these, in his time were *christned*,
 ' who was in the same *Eleutherius's* time,
 ' as is abovesaid. Then was not Pope *Eleu-*
 ' *therius* the first which sent the Christian
 ' faith into this realm ; but the gospel was
 ' here received before his time, either by
 ' *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, as some chronicles
 ' record, or by some of the *Apostles*, or of
 ' their scholars, which had been here preach-
 ' ing Christ before *Eleutherius* wrote to
 ' *Lucius*.

' My third probation I deduct out of *Ori-*
 ' *gen. Hom. IV. in Ezchielem*, whose words
 ' be these : *Britanniam in christianam consen-*
 ' *tire religionem*. Whereby it appeareth,
 ' that the faith of Christ was sparfed here
 ' in *England*, before the days of *Eleuthe-*
 ' *rius*.

' For my fourth probation, I take the
 ' testimony of *Beda* ; where he affirmeth,
 ' That, in his time, and almost a thousand
 ' years after Christ here in *Britain*, *Easter*
 ' was kept after the manner of the East-
 ' church, in the full of the moon, what day
 ' in the week soever it fell on ; and not on

‘ the *Sunday*, as we do now : Whereby it is
 ‘ to be collected, that the first preachers in
 ‘ this land, have come out from the East part
 ‘ of the world, where it was so used, rather
 ‘ than from *Rome*.

‘ *Fifthly*, I may alledge the words of *Nicephorus*, lib. ii. cap. 40. where he saith,
 ‘ That *Simon Zelotes* did spread the gospel of
 ‘ Christ to the West ocean, and brought the
 ‘ same unto the Isles of *Britain*.

‘ *Sixthly*, May be here added also the
 ‘ words of *Petrus Cluniacensis* ; who writing
 ‘ to *Bernard*, affirmeth, That the *Scots*, in
 ‘ his time, did celebrate their *Easter*, not after
 ‘ the *Roman* manner, but after the *Greeks*, &c.
 ‘ And as the said *Britains* were not under
 ‘ the *Roman* order, in the time of this ab-
 ‘ bot of *Cluniack* ; so neither were they, nor
 ‘ would be under the *Roman* legate, in the
 ‘ time of *Gregory* ; nor would admit any pri-
 ‘ macy of the *bishop* of *Rome* to be above
 ‘ them.

‘ For the *seventh* argument, moreover, I
 ‘ may make my probation by the plain
 ‘ words of *Eleutherius* ; by whose epistle ^a,
 ‘ written to king *Lucius*, we may understand
 ‘ that *Lucius* had received the faith of Christ
 ‘ in this land, before the king sent to *Eleu-
 ‘ therius* for the *Roman* laws ; for so the ex-
 ‘ press words of the letter do manifestly pur-
 ‘ port. By all which conjectures, it may
 ‘ stand, probably, to be thought, that the
 ‘ *Britons* were taught first by the *Grecians*
 ‘ of the East church, rather than by the
 ‘ *Romans*.’

^a Which may be seen both in *Fuller* and *Fox*.

Monfieur *Rapin*, a late author, gives this account of the firft plantation of the gofpel in *Britain*. He fays; ‘ Before the birth of our *Hift. of Engl.*
 ‘ Saviour, the *Britons*, like the reft of the *Vol. I. p. 27.*
 ‘ world, the *Jews* only excepted, were *grofs*
 ‘ idolaters; they not only worfhipped *false*
 ‘ gods, but, if their own hiftorians are to be
 ‘ credited, had as *many*, and as *extravagant*
 ‘ ones, as the *Egyptians* themfelves.——

‘ Though it be difficult to know the pre-
 ‘ cife time, yet all agree the gofpel was
 ‘ preached in *Great Britain* foon after our
 ‘ Saviour’s death. But thofe who place this
 ‘ event in the reign of *Tiberius*, do not con-
 ‘ fider, the firft Gentile *Cornelius*, was not
 ‘ converted till the year of our Lord 40;
 ‘ that is, three years after the death of that
 ‘ emperor.

‘ *Baronius*, upon the questionable autho-
 ‘ rity of *Simeon Metaphraftes*^b, which he
 ‘ himfelf juftly rejects on feveral other occa-
 ‘ fions, fays; *St. Peter* firft preach’d to the
 ‘ *Britons*. This opinion is the more impro-
 ‘ bable, becaufe it is certain *St. Peter* per-
 ‘ form’d the office of an *Apoftle* chiefly in
 ‘ the *Eastern* countries. Others affirm, That
 ‘ *Simon Zelotes*, one of the twelve *Apoftles*,
 ‘ undertook the converfion of the *Britons*.
 ‘ *Nicephorus Calliftus*, *Dorotheus*, in his *Sy-*
 ‘ *nopsis*, and the *Greek Kalendar*, fay; This
 ‘ *Apoftle* was crucified and buried in *Britain*.
 ‘ At the fame time, we find in the *Roman*
 ‘ *Martyrology*, and in thofe of *Bede*, *Adon*,

^b A writer of the tenth century, fays Mr. *Tindal*; fo called from writing the lives of the faints. He was a lay-man. *Notes upon Rapin*, p. 28.

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‘ and *Ufuard*, that *St. Simon* suffer’d martyrdom in *Persia*.

‘ The most current opinion, for some time, was, That *Joseph of Arimathea* first preached to the *Britons*. Though this tradition, supported by the sole testimony of *William of Malmsbury**, in proof of the antiquity of the church of *Glaston*, or *Glassenbury*, says, after *Freculphus*, that upon the martyrdom of saint *Stephen*, the Apostles were dispersed throughout the whole world. *St. Philip* (continues the historian) at his coming among the *Franks*, sent twelve of his disciples, with *Joseph of Arimathea*, as their head, to propagate the gospel in *Great Britain*; where they arrived in the year of our Lord 61. After some opposition from the inhabitants, a certain king gave them a little spot of ground, surrounded with fens and bushes to dwell in. Not long after, two other neighbouring kings, having allow’d them twelve *bides* of land for their subsistence, the Angel *Gabriel* commanded them, from God, to build a church in the place now called *Glaston*, but, at that time, *Inswitrin*. This church was finished in the year 63; and, as the historian adds, was dedicated by our Saviour himself, as a mark of distinction to the *Virgin Mary*.’

Rapin, after a refutation of the proofs brought in vindication of this tradition of *Joseph of Arimathea*, observes, That ‘ though

* A writer of the twelfth century stands upon no better foundation than those above mention’d; it has however been deem’d incontestable. *Malmsbury*,

‘ the exact time of the conversion of the
 ‘ *Britons* be uncertain, it is very probable
 ‘ the gospel was preached in the Island not
 ‘ long after the death of Christ. *Theodoret*
 ‘ assures us, the *Britons* were converted by
 ‘ the Apostles. *Eusebius*, speaking of the
 ‘ dangers the Apostles were exposed to in
 ‘ propagating the gospel in the most remote
 ‘ countries, mentions, among the rest, the
 ‘ *British* Isles. Now, says he, the likeliest
 ‘ time to be assigned for the conversion of the
 ‘ *Britons*, if it was in the apostles days, is
 ‘ that between the victory of *Claudius* and
 ‘ the defeat of *Boadicea*. For, at the time of
 ‘ the general revolt, there were in the Island
 ‘ above eighty thousand *Romans*, among
 ‘ whom, very probably, were some *Chri-*
 ‘ *stians*, the gospel having now got footing
 ‘ in many places, particularly at *Rome*: Up-
 ‘ on this supposition there is no absurdity in
 ‘ asserting, with several modern authors,
 ‘ that St. *Paul* first preach’d the gospel in
 ‘ *Britain*. It is certain this Apostle, in the
 ‘ eight years between his first imprisonment
 ‘ at *Rome*, and his return to *Jerusalem*, pro-
 ‘ pagated the *Christian* religion in several
 ‘ places, especially in the *Western* countries.
 ‘ He informs us of his design of going to
 ‘ *Spain*; and it is not unlikely but his desire
 ‘ of converting the *Britains* might carry him
 ‘ into their Island. This opinion may be
 ‘ supported by the testimony of *Venutius For-*
 ‘ *tunatus*, in his poem upon the life of saint
 ‘ *Martin*; where he speaks of the travels of
 ‘ St. *Paul*. But after all, these are only con-
 ‘ jectures, and of no other use but to make it
 ‘ more credible, that the gospel was planted
 ‘ in

‘ in *Britain* soon after the death of our
‘ Lord.’

The true *Christian* doctrine, and form of worship, as delivered by the *Apostles*, was maintained in *England*, and the *Romish* government and ceremonies zealously withstood, till the *Saxons* enter’d into *Britain*, about the year 448. during which time there is no mention of any baptizings in *England*, but of adult persons only. And from this silence in history, touching the baptizing of any *Infants* in *England*; from the *Britons* being said to keep so strictly to the holy Scriptures, in doctrine and ceremonies; in which there is no mention of baptizing *infants*; and from the accounts of those who were baptized, which expressly mention their faith and conversion, the *English Baptists* have concluded, that there was no such practice as baptizing of *Infants* in *England*, for the first three hundred years after it received the gospel; and certainly he would have a very hard task that should undertake to prove there was.

h. History,

ib. i. P. 10.

Mr. *Fuller* informs us, That *Lucius*, king of *Britain*, in the year 167, ‘ being much
‘ taken with the miracles which he beheld
‘ truly done by pious Christians, fell in ad-
‘ miration of, and love with their religion;
‘ and sent *Elvanus* and *Meduinus*, men of
‘ known piety and learning in the scriptures,
‘ to *Eleutherius*, bishop of *Rome*, with a
‘ letter; requesting several things of him,
‘ but principally that he might be instructed
‘ in the Christian faith. The reason why he
‘ wrote to *Rome* was, says *Fuller*, because,
‘ at this time, the church therein was the

‘ most eminent church in the world, shining
 ‘ the brighter, because set on the highest *can-*
 ‘ *dlestick*, the *imperial city*. We are so far
 ‘ from grudging *Rome* the happiness she
 ‘ once had, that we rather bemoan the loss
 ‘ it so soon, degenerating from her primi-
 ‘ tive purity.

‘ *Eleutherius*, says he, at the request of Ibid. p. 12.
 ‘ king *Lucius*, sent unto him *Faganus* and
 ‘ *Derwianus*, or *Dunianus*, two holy men,
 ‘ and grave divines, to instruct him in the
 ‘ Christian religion; by whom the said king
 ‘ *Lucius*, called by the *Britains*, *Lever-Maur*,
 ‘ or the *Great light*, was baptized, with ma-
 ‘ ny of his subjects.

Mr. *John Fox* thus relates the story of *Martyrology*,
 king *Lucius*. ‘ About the time and year of Vol. I. p. 138.
 ‘ the Lord 180, says he, king *Lucius*, son
 ‘ of *Toilus*, which builded *Colchester*, king
 ‘ of the *Britains*, who then were the inha-
 ‘ biters and possessors of this land, which
 ‘ now we *Englishmen* call *England*, hearing
 ‘ of the miracles and wonders done by the
 ‘ Christians at that time, in divers places, as
 ‘ *Monumetensis* writeth, directed his letters to
 ‘ *Eleutherius*, bishop of *Rome*, to receive of
 ‘ him the Christian faith.—— The good bi-
 ‘ shop, hearing the request of this king, and
 ‘ glad to see the godly towardness of his well
 ‘ disposed mind, sendeth him certain teachers
 ‘ and preachers, called *Fugatius*, or, by some,
 ‘ *Faganus*, and *Damianus*, or *Dunianus*;
 ‘ which converted first the king and people
 ‘ of *Britain*, and baptized them with the
 ‘ baptism and sacrament of Christ’s faith.’

In the year 178, says Mr. *Fuller*, ‘ Some *Church Hist.*
 ‘ report, That, at this time, three thousand p. 13.

‘ philo-

‘ philosophers of the university of *Cambridge*,
 ‘ were converted and baptized; that king
 ‘ *Lucius* came thither, and bestowed many
 ‘ privileges and immunities on the place, with
 ‘ much more improbable matter.’

Hist. of Engl.
 Vol. I. p. 28. *Rapin* observes, That ‘ from the conver-
 sion of *Lucius*, to the *Dioclesian* persecution,
 ‘ the ecclesiastical history of *Britain* is intirely
 ‘ unknown. It is very probable, however,
 ‘ says he, that, during that interval of eighty
 ‘ years, the *Christian* religion made great
 ‘ progress in the Island; as appears from
 ‘ *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Bede*, and *Gildas*: But
 ‘ what puts the thing out of all dispute, is,
 ‘ the multitude of *British* martyrs [whom I
 must (till the *Pædobaptists* convince me to
 the contrary) believe were all *English* Bap-
 tists] ‘ that suffer’d during the dreadful per-
 ‘ secution under *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* his
 ‘ colleague.’

It was in the year 469, that the *Saxons* in-
 vaded *England*. They made a compleat
 conquest; overthrew *Christianity*, and set up
 the Heathen idolatry. But those *Christians*
 which escaped, fled into *Cornwall* and *Wales*;
 where they secur’d themselves, and main-
 tained the true Christian faith and worship.
Jeffery of *Monmouth*, in his book, *De Bri-*
tannorum Gestis, Lib. iv. cap. 4. as cited

Treat. of Bap-
tism, p. 333. by Mr. *Danvers*, tells us, ‘ That in the
 ‘ country of the *Britains*, Christianity flour-
 ‘ ished, which never decayed, even from
 ‘ the *Apostles* times. Amongst whom, says
 ‘ he, was the preaching of the gospel, sincere
 ‘ doctrine, and living faith, and such form of
 ‘ worship, as was delivered to the churches
 ‘ by the *Apostles* themselves; and that they,
 ‘ even

‘ even to death it self, withstood the *Romish*
 ‘ rites and ceremonies ; and that about the
 ‘ year 448, the *Englisch Saxons* began to pos-
 ‘ sess *Britany* ; and that about 593, they
 ‘ having made a compleat conquest of the
 ‘ *Britains*, and began to settle their *Heptar-*
 ‘ *chy*.’ — That, ‘ as long as the *British* chur-
 ‘ ches possessed the country, they kept them-
 ‘ selves sound in the faith, and pure in the
 ‘ worship, order, and discipline of Christ, as
 ‘ it was deliver’d to them from the *Apostles*,
 ‘ or their *Evangelists*.’ But to strengthen this
 testimony, I will cite others.

Mr. *John Fox* thus introduces the entering *Martyrology*,
 and reigning of the *Saxons* in the realm of *England*. ‘ This, says he, was the coming
 ‘ in first of the *Angles* or *Saxons* into this
 ‘ realm, being yet *unchristen’d* and *Infidels* ;
 ‘ which was about the year of our Lord, as
 ‘ *William Malmsbury* testifieth, four hundred
 ‘ sixty and nine ; the captains of whom were
 ‘ *Hengistus* and *Horsus* — and at length
 ‘ possess’d all, driving the *Britains*, such as
 ‘ remained, into *Cambria*, which we call
 ‘ now *Wales*.’ This, as Mr. *Fox* observes, *Ibid.* p. 149.
 ‘ was by *Gurmundus*, a *Pagan*, king of the
 ‘ *Africans* ; who, joining in league with the
 ‘ *Saxons*, wrought much grievance to the
 ‘ *Christians* of the land : Inasmuch that *Theo-*
 ‘ *nus*, bishop of *London*, and *Thadioccus*, bi-
 ‘ shop of *York*, with the rest of the people,
 ‘ so many as were left, having no place
 ‘ wherein to remain with safety, did fly some
 ‘ to *Cornwall*, and some to the mountains of
 ‘ *Wales*, about the year of our Lord 550.

‘ Most miserable, says Mr. *Fuller*, at this *Church Hist.*
 ‘ time, was the *British* commonwealth, croud- *Lib. i. p. 39.*

‘ ed

‘ ed up into barren corners, whilst their ene-
 ‘ mies, the *Pagan Saxons*, possessed the East
 ‘ and South, if not the greatest, the best part
 ‘ of the *Island* — needs then must reli-
 ‘ gion, now in *Britain*, be in a doleful con-
 ‘ dition; for he who expects a flourishing
 ‘ church in a fading common-wealth, let him
 ‘ try whether one side of his face can smile,
 ‘ when the other is pinch’d. — The intire
 ‘ body of the *British* church, at this time,
 ‘ was in *Wales*; where *Banchor* on the
 ‘ *North*, and *Caer-lion* on the *South*, were
 ‘ the two *Eyes* thereof, for learning and
 ‘ religion.’

Ibid. p. 40.

Hist. of Engl. *Rapin*, upon the state of the *British* church,
 Vol. I. Lib. ii. from the arrival of the *Saxons*, to the retreat of
 P. 43. the *Britons* into *Wales*, begins thus: ‘ After,

Ibid. p. 44.

‘ says he, having seen what calamities *Britain*
 ‘ was exposed to by the *Saxon* wars of a hun-
 ‘ dred and thirty years, a regular account of
 ‘ the *British* church is not to be expected
 ‘ during that space. — It is very likely,
 ‘ says he, all the monuments of the *British*
 ‘ churches were destroy’d, where-ever the
 ‘ *Saxons* became masters; and that it was
 ‘ not possible to preserve any but those of the
 ‘ churches of *Wales*, where the *Saxons* could
 ‘ never penetrate. It is easy to imagine,
 ‘ that the church was in a very mournful state,
 ‘ while the *Saxons* were exercising their fu-
 ‘ ry. These merciless idolaters, as well out
 ‘ of duty as wantonness, not only trampled
 ‘ upon every thing relating to the Christian
 ‘ religion, but let loose their rage against the
 ‘ Christians themselves. *Gildas* and *Bede*
 ‘ have painted out their inhuman proceedings,
 ‘ in such a manner as shows their barbarities
 ‘ were

' were carried to the highest Degree imagi-
 ' nable. *From the east to the west, says Gil-*
 ' *das, nothing was to be seen but churches*
 ' *burnt, and destroy'd to their very founda-*
 ' *tions. The inhabitants were extirpated by*
 ' *the sword, and buried under the ruins of*
 ' *their own houses. The altars were daily*
 ' *profaned by the blood of those slain thereon.*
 ' *Bede, who was a Saxon, and therefore not*
 ' *to be supposed to aggravate the cruelty of*
 ' *his country-men, expresses himself thus :*
 ' *By the hands of the Saxons, a fire was light-*
 ' *ed up in Britain, that served to execute the*
 ' *just vengeance of God upon the wicked Bri-*
 ' *tons, as he had formerly burnt Jerusalem by*
 ' *the Chaldeans. The Island was so ravaged*
 ' *by the conquerors, or rather by the hand of*
 ' *God, making use of them as instruments ;*
 ' *that there seemed to be a continued flame*
 ' *from sea to sea, which burnt up the cities,*
 ' *and covered the surface of the whole Isle.*
 ' *Publick and private buildings fell in one com-*
 ' *mon ruin. The priests were murdered on the*
 ' *altars ; the bishop, with his flock, perished*
 ' *by fire and sword, without any distinction,*
 ' *no one daring to give their scattered bodies*
 ' *an honourable burial.*

' To these mournful descriptions, says Ra-
 ' pin, may be added, That the *Britons*, who
 ' escaped the fury of their enemies, not find-
 ' ing wherewithal to subsist in the woods and
 ' mountains, were forced, at length, to sur-
 ' render to the conquerors, deeming them-
 ' selves happy in being able to purchase their
 ' lives, with the loss of their liberty. Some
 ' fled into foreign parts, and those whom the
 ' love of their native country kept at home,
 b and

‘ and the dread of slavery prevented from submitting to the *Saxons*, dragged on a wretched life, in miserable want and perpetual fear. It is therefore no wonder that the accounts of the *British* church are so imperfect; since the *Saxons* used their utmost endeavours to destroy all the monuments that might have been preserved.’

The Christian *Britons* being thus pent up in *Wales*, kept their ground a good while there; till at length they were intirely subdued by a massacre, procured, as some think, by St. *Austin*, for their refusing to comply with him in embracing the erroneous principles of the church of *Rome*.

The Accounts of this *Austin* are as follow :

Fox's *Martyr*.
p. 149.

About the year 596. saint *Austin*, with about forty more, were sent into *England* by *Gregory* bishop of *Rome*, to preach the gospel, and endeavour to plant Christian churches among the *Saxons*. He met with great success, the king, and great numbers of the people, being converted and baptized. Yea, they came in so fast, that he

Ibid. p. 154.

is said to have baptized ten thousand on a *Christmas* day, in the river *Swale* by *York*. Mr. *Fuller* gives an account of the manner how this was performed; though he is in doubt whether saint *Austin* or *Paulinus* were the doer thereof; and says, it would argue too much morosity in us to demur in our faith to the whole fact. ‘ And if so many;

Church Hist.

Lib. ii. p. 66.

‘ says he, were baptized in one day, it appears plainly, that in that age, the administration of that sacrament, was not loaded with those superstitious ceremonies, as essential thereunto, of crossing, spittle, oil, cream, salt,

‘ salt, and such like trinkets; which *Prote-*
‘ *stants* generally as little know what they
‘ are, as *Papists* why they use them. I say,
‘ in that age, nothing was used with baptism,
‘ but baptism; the *Word* and the *Water*
‘ made the sacrament. Yea, the archbishop
‘ is said to have *commanded, by the voice of*
‘ *cryers, that the people should enter the river*
‘ *confidently, two by two, and in the name of*
‘ *the Trinity baptize one another by turns:*
‘ This, indeed, says Mr. Fuller, was the
‘ most compendious way; otherwise *Josbua’s*
‘ day, wherein the sun stood still, had been
‘ too short for one man’s personal perform-
‘ ance of such an employment.’

Rapin, after having given an account of
St. *Austin’s* mission by *Gregory*, and the kind
reception he met with from *Ethelbert* the
king, says; ‘ The queen got leave for the *Hist. of Engl.*
‘ *missionaries* to settle at *Canterbury*, the ca- Vol. I. p. 66.
‘ pital of *Kent*; where she took care to pro-
‘ vide them with convenient lodgings, and
‘ procure them the liberty of preaching to as
‘ many as had the curiosity to hear them.
‘ They made so good use of this favourable
‘ juncture, that in a short time, several of
‘ the principal *Saxons* embraced the Christian
‘ faith. The swift progress of the gospel at
‘ *Canterbury*, raised the king’s curiosity to
‘ be more particularly instructed in the nature
‘ of the religion these strangers preached. At
‘ length, by the persuasions of the queen,
‘ and frequent conferences with *Austin*, he re-
‘ ceived baptism, about a Year after the ar-
‘ rival of the *missionaries*. The conversion
‘ of the king being followed by that of mul-
‘ titudes of his subjects, the queen’s chapel,

The PREFACE.

' which stood without the city, soon became
 ' too little to hold them.—— Thus began
 ' the conversion of the *Saxons* in *England*.
 ' *Austin* and his fellow labourers were the In-
 ' struments made use of, by divine Provi-
 ' dence, to turn them from their idolatrous
 ' superstitions, to the light of the gospel; a
 ' blessing their brethren in *Germany* enjoyed
 ' not till two hundred years after, in the
 ' reign of *Charles* the Great. *Ethelbert* pro-
 ' moted to his utmost, the conversion of his
 ' subjects, but without using the least vio-
 ' lence or compulsion; having learn'd of his
 ' instructors, as *Bede* expressly observes, that
 ' God requires none to serve him, but those
 ' who do it with a willing mind. It were to
 ' be wished, says *Rapin* [with whom all
 ' Baptists, and sincere Christians, will unite]
 ' that, all Christian princes would follow his
 ' example! The *Saxons* were so eager to em-
 ' brace the gospel, that, if historians may be
 ' credited, *Austin*, in one day, baptized ten
 ' thousand in the river *Swale*, which runs in-
 ' to the *Thames*.

Baptism was not, in those times, admini-
 ster'd in a font in the church (much less in
 houses) but in rivers; nor attended with so
 many ceremonies as practis'd now by those of
 the *Roman* faith, as *Mr. Fox* observes, speak-
 ing of *St. Austin*; ' After he had baptized
 ' and christen'd, says he, ten thousand *Saxons*,
 ' or *Angles*, in the *West* river, that is called
 ' *Swale*, beside *York*, on a *Christmas* day;
 ' perceiving his end to draw near, he or-
 ' dained a successor, named *Laurentius*, to
 ' rule after him the archbishop's see of *Doro-*
 ' *bernia*. Where note, by the way (Chri-
 ' stian

‘*ſtian* reader) that whereas *Auſtin* baptized
 ‘ then in rivers, it followeth, there was then
 ‘ no uſe of fonts. Again, if it be true that
 ‘ *Fabian* ſaith, he baptized ten thouſand in
 ‘ one day, the rite then of baptizing at *Rome*
 ‘ was not ſo ceremonial; neither had ſo many
 ‘ trinkets at that time, as it hath had ſince;
 ‘ or elſe it could not be, that he could baptize
 ‘ ſo many in one day.’

Auſtin meeting with ſuch ſucceſs, in that Anno 604.
 part of *Britain* called *England*, held a ſynod
 near the borders of *Wales*, and ſent to the Fox’s *Martyr.*
 biſhops of the ancient *Britons*, who had fled Vol. I. p. 153.
 into thoſe parts, and were now encreaſed to a
 very great number, to perſuade them to ſub- Fuller’s *Ch.*
 mit to the authority of the ſee of *Rome*, as Hiſt. p. 61.
 many *Saxons* had done, and to embrace the
 ceremonies of that church, particularly in the
 time of keeping *Eaſter*, and in baptizing
 their children. ‘ To theſe, ſays Mr. Fox,
 ‘ the *Scots* and *Britains* would not agree,
 ‘ reſuſing to leave the cuſtom which they ſo
 ‘ long time had continued.’

Thus far it appears, that the doctrine and
 worſhip which the *Britains* received from the
Apoſtles, they cloſely adhered to, cleaving to
 the ſcriptures, utterly renouncing all *Romiſh*
 Traditions and Superſtititions: But inasmuch
 as they reſuſed to be ſeduced by *Auſtin*, he
 not only threaten’d their ruin, but accompliſh-
 ed the ſame in a ſhort time after. For,

When *Auſtin* found the *Britons* reſuſed to
 comply with his extravagant propoſals, he
 abated in his demands, and only deſired their
 compliance with him in three things. His
 words, according to *Fabian*, were theſe: Part v. p. 119.
 ‘ Sins ye wol not aſſent to my heſts general-
 ‘ ly,

‘ly, assent ye to me specially in iii things.
 ‘The *first* is, that ye keep *Ester* day in due
 ‘fourme and tyme as it is ordayned. The
 ‘*second*, that ye geve Christendome to chil-
 ‘dren : And the *thyrde* is, that ye preach
 ‘unto the anglis the word of God as afore-
 ‘times I have exhorted you. And all the
 ‘other deale, I shall suffer you to amende
 ‘and resourme within your selves. But, *saith*
 ‘*he*, they would not thereof. Then *Austayne*
 ‘said unto them, and warned them by man-
 ‘ner of inspyracion, that sins they wolde not
 ‘receave peace of their brethren, they should
 ‘of other receive warre and wretche.’

Hist. of Engl.
Vol. I. p. 68.

Bede, an author much more ancient than
Fabian, as cited by *Rapin*, expressees this
 threat of *St. Austin* thus : ‘ Since you refuse
 ‘ peace from your brethren, you shall have
 ‘ war from your enemies ; and since you will
 ‘ not join with us in preaching the word of
 ‘ eternal life to your neighbours, you shall
 ‘ receive death at their hands : Which, *saith*
 ‘ *Mr. Danvers*, *Austin* accomplished accor-
 ‘ dingly, by bringing the *Saxons* upon them
 ‘ to their utter ruin.’

How far *St. Austin* might be concerned in
 bringing upon the *Britons* their ruin, does not
 appear. *Fabian* commends him as a great
 saint and a prophet : indeed, immediately af-
 ter his words above quoted, and at the end
 of the paragraph, he adds, ‘ the which was
 ‘ put in experience by *Ethelfridus* king of
 ‘ *Northumberland*.’ Some authors do look
 upon it as the accomplishment of his predi-
 ction : But be that as it will, the *Britains*
 still held their integrity ; neither promises
 nor threats could prevail with them to ad-
 mit

mit of the least change in their ancient customs.

Rapin, upon this head, observes ; ‘ That Ibid. p. 68.
 ‘ *Austin* had not only pressed the *Britons* to a
 ‘ conformity with the *church of Rome*, and
 ‘ obedience to the *Papal* authority, but also
 ‘ had reproached them for their negligence
 ‘ and want of zeal, in not promoting the con-
 ‘ version of the *Saxons*. Perhaps, says he,
 ‘ he designed to intimate to them, that the
 ‘ conversion of all *England* stuck only at the
 ‘ union he proposed to them. However this
 ‘ be, these words of *Austin* were looked upon
 ‘ as a prediction of the massacre of the monks
 ‘ of *Bangor* :’ Which, says Mr. Fox, ‘ not Martyrology,
 ‘ long after, so came to pass, by the means Vol. I. p. 154.
 ‘ of *Ethelfride*, king of *Northumberland* ;
 ‘ who being yet a *Pagan*, and stirred with
 ‘ a fierce fury against the *Britains*, came,
 ‘ with a great army, against the city of *Che-*
 ‘ *ster*, where *Brockmaile*, the consul of that
 ‘ city, a friend and helper of the *Britains*
 ‘ side, was ready with his force to receive
 ‘ him. There was at the same time at
 ‘ *Bangor* in *Wales*, an exceeding great Mo-
 ‘ nastery, wherein was such a number of monks,
 ‘ as *Galfridus* with other authors do testi-
 ‘ fy, that if the whole company were divided
 ‘ into seven parts, in every of the seven parts
 ‘ were contained not so few as three hun-
 ‘ dred monks, which all did live with the
 ‘ sweat of their brows, and labour of their
 ‘ own hands, having one for their ruler na-
 ‘ med *Dino*. Out of this *Monastery* came
 ‘ the monks of *Chester*, to pray for the good
 ‘ success of *Brockmile*, fighting for them a-
 ‘ gainst the *Saxons*. Three days they conti-

‘nued in fasting and prayer. When *Ethel-*
‘*fride*, the aforefaid king, feeing them fo
‘intentive to their prayers, demanded the
‘caufe of their coming thither in fuch a com-
‘pany ; and when he perceived it was to
‘pray for their conful ; then faith he, al-
‘though they bear no weapon, yet they fight
‘againft us ; and, with their prayers and
‘preachings they perfecute us. Where-
‘upon, after that *Brockmaile* being over-
‘come did flee away, the king commanded
‘his men to turn their weapons againft the
‘filly unarm’d monks, of whom he flew, at
‘the fame time, or rather martyr’d, eleven
‘hundred [*Fuller* fays twelve] only fifty
‘persons of that number did flie and efcape
‘away with *Brockmaile* ; the reft were all
‘flain.’

The late reverend Dr. *Calamy*, who feems
to have taken not a little pains on this head :

God's Concern
for his glory in
the British
Ifles, p. 6.

He quotes *Gildas*, who wrote about the year
of Chrift 564. and faid ; ‘ That *Chrift*
‘ *fhewing his bright light to all the world,*
‘ *afforded his rays, that is, his precepts, in*
‘ *the latter end of the reign, as we know, of*
‘ *Tiberius Cæfar, when his religion was pro-*
‘ *pagated without any hindrance.* And if he
‘ meant this, fays the doctor, of the publica-
‘ tion of the gofpel in *Britain*, which has
‘ been the moft prevailing opinion, we muft
‘ allow him to have had better advantages
‘ for the *knowing* this with certainty then,
‘ than we can have at this diftance. Accord-
‘ ing to this account, this Ifland had Chrifti-
‘ anity preach’d in it, within five years of
‘ our Saviour’s crucifixion, which was very
‘ early ; perhaps too early, fays he, all cir-
‘ cum-

‘ circumstances consider’d, for a place that lay
 ‘ so remote. A late learned writer therefore Stillington’s
 ‘ asserts, That those words of *Gildas* have Orig. Brit.
 ‘ been misunderstood, and applied to the Lib. I. Ch. i.
 ‘ particular preaching of the gospel in *Brit-*
 ‘ *tain*; whereas they were meant of the ge-
 ‘ neral liberty of preaching it throughout the
 ‘ world. But be it as it will, as to that, all
 ‘ ancient writers agree, that Christianity was
 ‘ planted in this land very soon, considering
 ‘ its distance from *Judea*.

‘ ’Tis evident, that after Christianity ob-
 ‘ tained here, a great part of the inhabitants
 ‘ still continued *Pagans*, and yet our holy
 ‘ religion made a progress. As it got ground;
 ‘ the temples of their ancient idols were some
 ‘ of them destroy’d, and others of them de-
 ‘ dicated to the true and living God. We
 ‘ have no account of such severities here in
 ‘ the primitive times against the followers of
 ‘ a crucified Jesus as in other countries. That
 ‘ which was the last of the ten persecutions
 ‘ under the *Roman* emperors seems to have
 ‘ been the first that affected this Island. But
 ‘ in that general calamity, in the reign of
 ‘ *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, about the year 303,
 ‘ the Christians here were very great sufferers.
 ‘ ’Tis said, That *Maximian almost rooted out* Usser Brit.
 ‘ *the Christian religion from Britain; and* Eccl. Antiq.
 ‘ *that they who suffered martyrdom were almost* Cap. 7.
 ‘ *beyond number.* *Gildas* tells us, That *their*
 ‘ *churches were thrown down, and all the*
 ‘ *books of holy scriptures that could be found,*
 ‘ *were burnt in the streets; and the chosen*
 ‘ *priests of the flock of our Lord, together*
 ‘ *with the innocent sheep, murdered.* *St. Al-*
 ‘ *ban of Verulam, and Aaron, and Julius of*
 ‘ *Carlisle*

‘ *Carlisle* upon *Usk* in *Monmouthshire*, and
 ‘ many others, sealed the truth of Christia-
 ‘ nity with their blood.

‘ But when the storm was over, which did
 ‘ not last much above a year, the Christians
 ‘ here, as well as in other parts, fled out of
 ‘ the woods and dens and caves, where they
 ‘ had hid themselves, and rebuilt their demo-
 ‘ lished churches, and flourished to a great
 ‘ degree, both in peace and unity. They
 ‘ were much favour’d by *Constantius*, the
 ‘ father of *Constantine*, who continued for
 ‘ the latter part of his life here in *Britain*;
 ‘ and would suffer no man to die for his reli-
 ‘ gion in his dominions. It was here also that
 ‘ *Constantine* himself, who was a native of
 ‘ this Island, first declared himself a Chri-
 ‘ stian, or inclined that way; which it is not
 ‘ likely he would have publickly done, had
 ‘ not a good part of his army been of that
 ‘ religion: And upon his advancement to the
 ‘ imperial throne, ’tis not to be wonder’d at,
 ‘ if more splendor attended Christianity as it
 ‘ was here professed, than had been known
 ‘ before. But I have not, says the doctor,
 ‘ upon the strictest enquiry I have been able
 ‘ to make, hitherto been able to discern suf-
 ‘ ficient ground to apprehend, that from the
 ‘ beginning, churches, or places of worship,
 ‘ were so nobly adorn’d, or church govern-
 ‘ ment so modelled in this Island, as some
 ‘ time after; or that the prelatical form of
 ‘ government was any part of that *glory* that
 ‘ was at first *declared* in this Island.’ And
 he spends some pages in vindication of his
 own opinion thereupon, in opposition to what
 had been written in favour of the prelatical par-

Euseb. *de vit.*
 Const. M. I. 1.
 c. 13. *foz.*
Hist. Eccles.
 I. 1. c. 6.

ty; which I pass, as foreign to my design.
Britain, says the doctor, was also sadly
 infested with the *Picts* and *Scots*; which,
 after various struggles, when no more help
 could be had from the *Romans*, was the
 occasion of calling the *Saxons* to their assistance.
 These *Saxons*, whom *Gildas* calls,
A nation, odious both to God and Man,
 came hither to be a scourge to the *Britons*,
 about the year of Christ 450. They were
 at first received as guests, and treated as
 stipendiaries, in opposition to the barbarians;
 but at length found themselves strong
 enough to set up for masters; laid the
 whole country waste, and drove the old
British Christians into the barren mountains
 of *Wales*; and occasion'd such confusion
 and desolation, as *Gildas*, who wrote a few
 years after, thought could never be enough
 lamented. That writer describes their cruelties,
 and the judgment of heaven upon a sinful
 people, which they were the instruments
 of inflicting, in such a manner, as must
 needs affect all that read his account. He
 says, *That all the towns, with the beating
 of the rams, and all the townsmen, pastors
 priests and people, with naked swords, that
 glittered on all sides, and crackling flames,
 were together whirled to the ground.* And *Ranulph*.
 our historians say, that they scarce left the
 face of Christianity where they prevailed. *Nig. in Chron.*
 And yet pure religion was not even then *Westmonast.*
 extirpated out of the Island. *A. D. 586,*
 596.

The doctor goes on, and says; *Bede*,
 who wrote his history about the year 731,
 gives us a great deal of light; though allowance
 must be made for his being himself

' a *Saxon*, and not very friendly to the *Bri-*
 ' *tish* churches, and for his having a mona-
 ' stick tincture. Christianity, in a new edi-
 ' tion of it, with great improvements, as to
 ' outward pomp, was, during this period,
 ' received from *Rome*, through the hands of
 ' *Austin* the monk, about the year 598. But
 ' there was a purer Christianity in the *Island*
 ' before, that was much freer from adultera-
 ' tions and corruptions, than that which was
 ' now introduced under the same name. There
 ' were great contests between those of the old
 ' stamp, and those of the new. The former
 ' lived in *Wales* and *Scotland*, and the latter
 ' in the heart of the country. So that there
 ' were considerable debates on foot in this
 ' *Island*, between *Conformists* and *Nonconfor-*
 ' *mists*, in ancient as well as in modern times:
 ' And the one sort was apt to carry it with
 ' an high hand, and the other was forced to
 ' be satisfied with the conscience of their own
 ' integrity then, as well as now. The *Con-*
 ' *formists* then were, in all things, for the me-
 ' thods of the church of *Rome*; and the *Non-*
 ' *conformists* were for the ways and methods
 ' of the ancient Christians, and disowning
 ' impositions. And they were called too, *The*
 ' *Schismaticks* of *Britain* and *Ireland*; because
 ' they would not receive the *Romish* altera-
 ' tions, nor submit to the authority by which
 ' they were imposed. In the year 601, says
 ' the doctor, there was a synod, called by
 ' *Austin*, to which, *Bede* tells us, the bishops,
 ' or doctors of the next province of the *Bri-*
 ' *tons*, were summon'd; in which the abbot
 ' of *Bangor* gave him a free answer to his de-
 ' mand of conformity to *Rome*. He told
 ' him,

Historical Ac-
count, p. 69.

Eccles. Hist.
Lib. ii. Cap. ii.

‘ him, That they, the ancient Christians of
 ‘ this Island, were obedient, and subjects to
 ‘ the church of God, and to the pope of
 ‘ Rome, and to every godly Christian; to
 ‘ love every one in his degree, in perfect cha-
 ‘ rity; and to help every one of them by word
 ‘ and deed, to be the children of God: And
 ‘ other obedience than this he knew not to be
 ‘ due to him whom he called the pope, &c.
 ‘ And many of the poor monks, not long
 ‘ after, lost their lives, in return for this free-
 ‘ dom and resolution.’

The doctor, having shewn the great contest
 in the church about *Easter*, says, ‘ It ought
 ‘ not to be forgotten, that the difference be-
 ‘ tween these old *Conformists* and *Nonconfor-*
 ‘ *mists*, did not lie only in the time of keep-
 ‘ ing *Easter*; they differed also about *Bap-*
 ‘ *tism*: For that was one of the three things
 ‘ *Austin* insisted on in his conversation with
 ‘ the *British* doctors; that they should, for
 ‘ the future, administer baptism after the man-
 ‘ ner of the church of *Rome*; which is an
 ‘ argument they did not use to do so before.’

The doctor here seems to be at a stand,
 lest his ancient *Nonconformists*, which may
 very well be supposed to be *English Baptists*,
 should, by his readers, be taken as such:
 And therefore, in a comment upon the ac-
 count he has given, tells us thus: ‘ Where-
 ‘ in the difference, says he, between the old
 ‘ *Britons* and the *Romans*, properly lay about
 ‘ *Baptism*, is not so evident. *Pits* frankly
 ‘ owns, he did not know what it was. *Relat.*
 ‘ *Hist. de rebus anglicis*, p. 19. Nor does
 ‘ *Bede* explain it, nor any of our ancient
 ‘ writers that I have conversed with. Some
 ‘ have

The *P R E F A C E*.

' have thought they differ'd about the *subjects*
 ' of *baptism*; and that whereas the *Romans*
 ' baptized infants, the *Britons* were against
 ' infant baptism; and an argument has been
 ' drawn from thence by the *Antipædobap-*
 ' *tists*: But an answer is returned to it by
 ' Mr. *Wall*, in his *History of infant baptism*,
 ' p. 327. where he observes, that *Pelagius*
 ' being a native of *Britain*, his declaring
 ' that he never heard of any Christian, Ca-
 ' tholick or Sectary, that deny'd infant bap-
 ' tism, is a good evidence that his country-
 ' men did not do it. It seems more likely,
 ' that this difference should have been about
 ' the *mode of Baptism*, and the very words
 ' of *Austin*, as *Bede* relates the matter, seem
 ' to look that way. For he would have them
 ' administer baptism, for the future, *after*
 ' the manner of the church of *Rome*. Now I
 ' know of nothing so remarkable in the man-
 ' ner of baptizing in the church of *Rome* at
 ' that time, as the *trine immersion*. That
 ' this was customary in that church, is assert-
 ' ed by *Walafridus Strabo. de rebus Ecclesiæ*,
 ' Cap. 26. And though we have no positive
 ' evidence, as I know of, that a single im-
 ' mersion, or aspersion, or pouring of water,
 ' was used among the ancient *Britons* in their
 ' baptism; yet, till something else is menti-
 ' on'd, with a surer appearance of probability,
 ' I am inclined to believe, this was the mat-
 ' ter of that part of the difference.'

I must beg leave to observe here, That
 this worthy gentleman, upon the strictest en-
 quiry, as he says, could not discern sufficient
 ground to apprehend, that churches, or pla-
 ces of worship, were so nobly adorned;

or

of church-government so modelled in this Island, as sometime after ; or that the prelati- cal form of government was any part of that glory, that was at first declared in this Island ; and takes some considerable pains to prove it, in opposition to a venerable prelate of the church of *England*, who, in an historical account of church government, as it was in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, when they first received the Christian religion, undertook to prove, that it was much the same from the first, that it is at present. But the doctor did not tell us he could not discern sufficient ground for *infant* baptism ; which, I think, is as undiscernable as the other : Neither has he taken notice of any of those many instances we have of the churches practice respecting baptism. It may be, his eyes were so fixed on the *prelati- cal* point, he could not see those trifling points of *adult* baptism, and by *immersion* ; which were apparently the practice of the church in those days : For we have no mention of the practice of christening or baptizing children in *England* before the coming of *St. Austin* : And it is evident, he being the pope's legate, brought it from *Rome* : And the doctor himself owns, the *British* church was not yet corrupted with the superstitions of the *Romish* church. But the doctor seems to be under a necessity to own (because he says it ought not to be forgotten) That one of the points in difference between *St. Austin* and the *British* Christians, was that of baptism ; and should we allow the doctor his way of reasoning on the *trine* immersion (which we cannot) what will become of his *sprinkling* ?

But,

But, to me, the evidence of *Fabian*, for ought that appears to the contrary, is as good, if not much better, than that of *Pelagius*: Because, if *Pelagius* did say so, it is rather a proof of his great ignorance. For it is undeniable, that many, before his time, denied infant baptism. Besides, that he did say so, only depends upon the veracity of a pope; and but few Protestants will believe what the pope says, merely upon his own word, in opposition to any of their doctrines. However, the arguments for and against this point, you may see in *Wall*, *Wills* and *Danvers*. But this is evident, *Austin* did not use many ceremonies in baptism; as appears by his performing it in rivers, and baptizing ten thousand in one day, as aforesaid; and therefore could not insist upon their baptizing after the manner of *Rome*, as one of the three fundamental points, to be comply'd with by the *Britains*; unless the *Romish* manner of baptizing was quite different then from what it has been since: Because *Bede*, an author vastly more ancient than *Fabian*, does affirm, that one of the three things insisted on by *Austin* was, That the *Britons* should 'com-
'pleat the ministration of baptism (by which
'we are born again unto God) according to
'the custom of the holy *Roman* and apostolic
'church.' *Lib. ii. Cap. ii.*

That the controversy about the baptizing of infants, was agitated in *England*, at this time, appears from hence; because one of those difficulties that *Austin* met with was this. For when he sent over certain difficult cases to the bishop of *Rome*, for his advice and direction, after he had desired to know,
what

what he should do with the bishops of *Britain*, who had rejected his proposals, he made this enquiry; *How long a child may be left unbaptized, if there was no present danger of death.* Fox's *Martyr.* Vol. I. p. 151.

The subject of baptism being now changed in *England*, and by a *Romish* emissary, so ignorant in the rite, as appears by his question to the pope, and introduced by such a bloody massacre of those glorious witnesses of Christ, which did arise from their Christian courage and zeal against those antichristian impositions of the *Romish* church: One would think the *pædobaptist* Protestants could not be so tenacious about a rite sprung from so foul a beginning, as to martyr such a multitude as has been martyr'd in this kingdom for opposing it. Yet the mode of baptism (which has been, and is still too much ridicul'd by the rigid part of the *pædobaptists*) continued about one thousand Years longer; and baptism was performed by dipping those who were baptized, into the water.

Baptizing in churches did not begin in *England* till about the year 627; when king *Edwin* built one on purpose to be baptized in himself. He was one of the *Saxon* kings in *England*; and having a Christian queen, was persuaded to have his daughter, and twelve more, baptized by *Paulinus*; and afterwards was baptized himself at *York*, by the same person. From the conversion of this king, to the end of his reign, which was about six years, *Paulinus*, bishop of *York*, continued christening in the rivers *Gwenie* and *Swala*, using the said rivers for his fonts. He was forced to fly from his bishoprick in a time of

c

perse-

persecution; but one *James*, his deacon, a good and holy man, continued there baptizing and preaching in the north parts of *England*.

Ch. History, Mr. *Fuller's* Account is this: He says,
Lib. ii. p. 73. ‘King *Edwine*, almost three years a *candi-*
‘*date at large* of Christianity, cordially em-
‘braceth the same; and, with many of his
‘nobles, and multitudes of his subjects, is
‘solemnly baptized by *Paulinus*, in the little
‘church of *St. Peter's* in *York*, hastily set up
‘by the king for that purpose, and after-
‘ward by him changed into a firmer and fairer
‘fabrick.’

Martyrology, Mr. *Fox* tells us, That ‘after this [an in-
Vol. I. p. 156. ‘tended assassination which king *Edwin* esca-
‘ped] about *Whitfontide*, the king being
‘scantly whole of his wound, assembled his
‘host, intending to make war against the
‘king of *West Saxons* [who sent the assassin
‘privily to slay him] promising to Christ to
‘be christened, if he would give him the
‘victory over his enemies; and in token
‘thereof caused his daughter, born of *Edel-*
‘*burge*, the same *Easter* day when he was
‘wounded, named *Eufled*, to be baptized,
‘with twelve others of his family, of *Pauli-*
‘*nus*’ — who addressed himself to the king,
after his conquest, in these words; ‘Behold,
‘O king, you have vanquished your ene-
‘mies; you have obtained your kingdom;
‘now perform the third thing, which you pro-
‘mised, that is, to receive the faith of Christ,
‘and to be obedient to him. Whereupon,
‘says Mr. *Fox*, the king conferring with his
‘counsel, and his nobles, was baptized of the
‘said *Paulinus* at *York*, with many of his
‘other

‘ other subjects with him.’ And in the margin says, he was baptized in *St. Peter’s* church at *York*; which he first caused to be made of wood, which after, by *St. Oswald*, was builded of stone— ‘ From that time ‘ forth, during the life of *Edwin*, which was ‘ the term of six years more, *Paulinus* christen’d continually in the rivers of *Gwenie* ‘ and *Swala*, in both provinces of *Deira* and ‘ *Bernicia*, using the said rivers for his *fonts*, ‘ and preached in the shire of *Lincefcie*, ‘ where he builded also a church of stone at ‘ *Lincolne*.’ And in the margin, says, Note, *Paulinus* christen’d in rivers.

Rapin agrees in his testimony as to this; *Hist. of Engl.* Vol. I. p. 69, and gives a full account from *Bede*, of the several facts before related. He says, ‘ *Que-* 70.

‘ *celin*, one of the kings of *Wesssex*, bore the ‘ yoke of *Edwin* with that impatience, that ‘ he resolved to free himself from it, by ‘ means of an assassin, whom he sent to him ‘ on some pretence, privately armed with ‘ a poisoned dagger. The Ruffin being introduced into the presence chamber, took ‘ his opportunity, and made so furious a *pass* ‘ at the king, that he was wounded through ‘ the body of *Lilla* his favourite, who interposed himself, and received the blow. *Paulinus* being informed of this accident, hastily ran into the room; and finding *Edwin* ‘ in a great rage with the king of *Wesssex*, told ‘ him, God, to whom such wretches were an ‘ abomination, would not fail to punish so ‘ horrid a villany. It is said, that *Edwin*, ‘ whom the queen had hitherto solicited in ‘ vain, promised, at the same time, to renounce idolatry, if the God of the Christi-

'ans would revenge him of his enemy. At
 ' the same instant news was brought him,
 ' That the queen, after a hard labour, was
 ' brought to bed of a princess; for which he
 ' returned thanks to his gods. *Paulinus*, for
 ' his part, having been in great fears for the
 ' queen, fell upon his knees, and thanked
 ' God for her deliverance. The prelate's zeal
 ' was so pleasing to the king, that immedi-
 ' ately conceiving a favourable opinion of
 ' the Christian religion, he consented, *Pauli-*
 ' *nus* should baptize the new born infant—
 ' *Edwin* however, not forgetting the perfidi-
 ' ousness of the king of *Wessex*, marched with
 ' an army into his dominions; and, after
 ' defeating him several times, compelled him
 ' humbly to sue for peace, and make him
 ' ample satisfaction. But though he returned
 ' with victory, according to his wish, he de-
 ' ferred the performance of his promises.
 ' When the queen and *Paulinus* pressed him
 ' upon that head, he told them, the quitting
 ' his religion seemed to him to be of that im-
 ' portance, that he could not resolve upon it
 ' without a thorough examination of mat-
 ' ters. — The queen and *Paulinus* continued
 ' to solicit the king to perform his promise;
 ' and to give the greater weight to what they
 ' said to him, they got the *pope* to write
 ' him a letter. But all would not do; *Ed-*
 ' *win* still demurred, and could not come to
 ' a resolution: at last, the circumstances of the
 ' vision he had formerly seen in the garden of
 ' *Redowald*, being, as it is pretended, re-
 ' vealed to *Paulinus*, the work was accom-
 ' plished in an extraordinary way. *Bede* re-
 ' lates, How that one day, as the king was
 ' fur-

'surrounded with a croud of courtiers, *Paulinus*
 'came in suddenly, and laying his hand on
 ' *Edwin's* head, ask'd him, Whether he un-
 'derstood the meaning of that token. At
 'these words, *Edwin* recollecting what had
 'passed between him and the stranger in *Re-*
 'dowald's garden, threw himself at *Pauli-*
 'nus's feet; who, with an air of authority,
 'said to him thus: *My Lord, You have esca-*
 'ped the hands of your enemies, and are be-
 'come a great king. All that was foretold
 'you is come to pass; it is your duty now to
 'make good your promise. Upon hearing this,
 ' *Edwin* is said to reply, he was fully satis-
 'fied, and ready to receive the *Christian*
 'faith. From that moment he strove not
 'only to be better informed himself, but also
 'to prevail with his subjects to follow his ex-
 'ample and embrace the gospel.— *Edwin*
 'being sure of the concurrence of the high
 'priest, and some of his principal courtiers,
 'called a *Wittena gemot*, or parliament, to
 'debate whether the Christian religion should
 'be received or not.— It passed without
 'any opposition.— The same day *Ed-*
 'win was baptized, with his neice *Hilda*, af-
 'terwards *Abbess* of *Whitby*.

'The *Northumbrians* following the exam-
 'ple of their king; *Paulinus*, who till then
 'had lain idle, on a sudden found himself
 'fully employ'd by the prodigious crowds
 'that daily came to be taught and baptized.'

[*Bede* says, that *Paulinus* coming one time Tindal's notes
 with the king and queen, to a place called on Rapin,
Adregryn, spent there thirty six days from P. 70.
 morning till night, in instructing and bap-
 tizing (in the river *Gleni*) the people that

Ibidem.

flocked to him from all quarters] ‘ But if it
 ‘ be true, as some affirm, That he baptized
 ‘ in one day ten thousand, his instructions
 ‘ must needs have been very concise.’ [The
 same is said of St. *Austin*, and both the rivers
 are called *Swale*. It may seem incredible,
 that *Paulinus* should baptize so many in one
 day. But this difficulty is removed in an an-
 cient fragment quoted by Mr. *Cambden*:
 The archbishop, after he had consecrated the
 river *Swale*, commanded by the cryers and
 principal men, that they should, with faith,
 go in two by two, and in the name of the
 holy Trinity baptize each other.] ‘ A church
 ‘ of timber was hastily run up at *York* for
 ‘ the new converts, who were very numerous.
 ‘ Shortly after, *Edwin* laid the foundation
 ‘ of a church of freestone round the former,
 ‘ which stood till the other of stone was
 ‘ built. He had not the satisfaction to finish
 ‘ it; which was done by *Oswald* his suc-
 ‘ cessor.’

Anno 640.

The custom of having godfathers for adult
 persons as well as children, I find was used so
 early as the year 640.

Martyrology,

Vol. I. p. 158.

Mr. *Fox*, after having related a fable of
Berinus’s walking upon the sea, says; ‘ This
 ‘ *Berinus* being received in the ship again,
 ‘ with a great admiration of the mariners,
 ‘ who were therewith converted and bap-
 ‘ tized, was driven, at last, by the weather,
 ‘ to the coast of the *West Saxons*; where *Ki-*
 ‘ *nigilsus*, and his brother *Quicilinus*, did
 ‘ reign. Which two kings, the same time,
 ‘ by the preaching of *Berinus*, were convert-
 ‘ ed and made Christian men, with the people
 ‘ of the country, being before rude and bar-
 ‘ barous.

‘barous. It happen’d the samē time, when
 ‘the foresaid kings should be christen’d,
 ‘that *Oswaldus*, king of *Northumberland*,
 ‘was then present, and the same day marri-
 ‘ed *Kinigilsus* his daughter, and also was
 ‘godfather to the king.’

Mr. *Fuller* agrees as to the fact ; but places *Church Hist.*
 it in the year 636. His words are these : *Lib. ii. p. 79.*

‘*Birinus* here [in the South-west part of
 ‘*England*] sets up his staff episcopal ; fixeth
 ‘himself ; falls a preaching ; converts many,
 ‘and amongst the rest, *Kyngils*, the *West*
 ‘*Saxon* king, whom he baptized. *Oswald*,
 ‘king of *Northumberland*, chanced to be
 ‘present at that time, and was first godfather ;
 ‘then father in law to king *Kyngills*, to
 ‘whom he gave his daughter to wife.’

St. *Cbad* ‘was, says Sir *John Floyer*, one *History of cold*
 ‘of the first converters of our nation, and *batbing*, p. 17.
 ‘used *immersion*, in the baptism of the *Saxons*.

‘And the well near *Stow*, which may bear
 ‘his name, was, probably, his *baptistry*, it
 ‘being deep enough for *immersion*, and con-
 ‘veniently seated near the church, and that
 ‘has the reputation of curing sore eyes, scabs,
 ‘&c. as most holy wells in *England* do ;
 ‘which got that name from the baptizing the
 ‘first Christians in them, and to the memory
 ‘of the holy bishops who baptized in them,
 ‘they were commonly dedicated, and called
 ‘by their names.’

This saint *Cbad* lived about the year 656 ; Anno 656.
 and, says Mr. *Fuller*, was ‘born in *Nor-* *Church Hist.*
 ‘*thumberland*, bred likewise in *Holy island*, *Lib. ii. p. 84.*
 ‘and scholar to *Aidanus*. He was bishop of
 ‘*Litchfield*, a mild and modest man—who

‘made many Christians, and amongst the
‘rest *Wulfade* and *Rufine*.’

Anno 689.

Among the ecclesiastical laws of *Inas*, or
Iva, one of the *West Saxon* kings, who be-
gan his reign in the year 689, and reigned
thirty seven years, this was one; ‘That in-
‘fants should be baptized within thirty days:’
Which supposes that some, in those times,
were for delaying their baptism.

Fox. Vol I.
p. 1016.

*History of cold
bathing*, Pt. I.
P. 57.

‘*Wilfrid*, says Sir *John Floyer*, converted
‘the *South Saxons* to the faith, *et lavacrum*
‘*salutis ministrabat*. *Edilmalch*, their king,
‘was baptized in *Mereia*, whose king, *Wulf-*
‘*bere* being present, *Bede*, in his fourth book,
‘makes him his godfather: *A quo etiam de*
‘*fonte egressus loco filii susceptus est*. *Bede*, in
‘his first book, relates how *Ceadwella*, the
‘king of the *West Saxons*, left his kingdom
‘and went to *Rome*; *ut ad limina beatorum*
‘*apostolorum fonte baptismatis ablueretur*,
‘and that he was baptized, *die sancti sabbati*
‘*pascalis*, Anno 689.’ And in another

Ibid. p. 11.

place, says Sir *John*, ‘The Christian bap-
‘tism succeeded the *Gentile* purifications;
‘and that was performed by *immersion* in
‘*England*, and all parts, at the first planting
‘of Christianity. In the life of *Ælfredus*

Anno 872.

‘[who began his reign over *England* in the
‘year 872.] we find that *Guthrumnus* the
‘*Dane*, with thirty of his companions, were
‘baptized in a fountain; and *Alfredus de*
‘*baptisterio susceptum nominat Athelston*;
‘and they used a second rite of ablution, *cum*
‘*vestes candidæ deponerentur*, such practices
‘of ablution of children, which is both reli-
‘gious and physical, is practised in the *East-*
‘*Indies*,

‘ *Indies*, as *Albert de Mandeshoes* informs us
 ‘ in his travels among them. — And be-
 ‘ cause it is usually objected, says *Sir John*,
 ‘ that these religious practices of immersion
 ‘ are suitable to hot regions, and not to cold;
 ‘ I will give some quotations from the wri-
 ‘ ters of travels into those cold countries; to
 ‘ shew that the northern people use such
 ‘ practices.

‘ The *Muscovites*, says *Sir John*, from *Ibid.* p. 13.
 ‘ *Olearius*, believe themselves the only Chri-
 ‘ stians, because they are immersed into the
 ‘ water, and not sprinkled; and they will
 ‘ receive no profelytes till they are rebaptized
 ‘ by immersion. They therefore dip their
 ‘ children in the fonts; and all persons of
 ‘ riper years are plunged into rivers at their
 ‘ baptisms. And *Olearius* farther affirms,
 ‘ page 96. That they often break the ice to
 ‘ get them into the water.

‘ *Olearius* also delivers the manner of the *Ibid.* p. 14.
 ‘ baptism of the *Arminians*, who set their
 ‘ children naked in the font, and pour water
 ‘ on their heads and bodies three times.

‘ In *Tavernier’s* travels ’tis observed, that
 ‘ the Christians of *Balsara* in *Asia*, who anci-
 ‘ ently lived near *Jordan*, never baptize but in
 ‘ rivers; and that the godfathers plunge the
 ‘ child all over into the water. And every
 ‘ year these disciples of *St. John* celebrate a
 ‘ feast for five days; during which time
 ‘ they are baptized, according to the bap-
 ‘ tism of *St. John*. *Tavernier* also farther
 ‘ observes, That the *Arminians* plunge their
 ‘ children into rivers at *Christmas*; and he
 ‘ wonders that the extremity of the weather
 ‘ does not kill the children. The king of

‘*Persia* is oft present at this ceremony, performed at *Christmas*, near *Ispahan*.’

I have been informed, says *Sir John*, that our *Highlanders* oft dip their children in cold water.

Anno 976.

King *Ethelred*, who came to the crown in the year 976, appears to have been baptized by a total *immersion*, from an accident that happen’d at his *baptism*.

Acts and Monuments,
Vol. I. p. 206.

Mr. *Fox*, who calls him *Egelred*, says: ‘Of this *Egelred*, it is read, That when *Dunstan* the archbishop should christen him, as he did hold him over the font, something there happen’d that pleased not *Dunstan*; whereupon he sware, *per sanctam Mariam, iste ignavus homo erit*, by the mother of Christ, he will be a prince unto-ward and cowardly.’

Cb. History,
Lib. ii. p. 135.

Mr. *Fuller* is more plain; and says, ‘*Ethelred* —— with whom *Dunstan* had a quarrel from his cradle; because, when an infant, he left more water in the font than he found there at his baptizing —— from such his addition, *Dunstan* prognosticated an inundation of *Danes* would ensue in this Island.’

Dedication.

Sir John Floyer, plainer yet, in answer to the objection, That it never was the custom to immerse children in *England*, says, ‘I will give this remarkable instance of the baptism of king *Edgar*’s son *Ethelred*, in *Polydore Virgil*’s own words: *Is dum baptizabatur, cum subito in sacrum fontem confecti cibi reliquias ex alvo emisisset, traditur Dunstanus predixisse ita futurum, ut ille quandoque ingens patriæ incommodum dedecusque afferret.*’

Mr.

Mr. Fox, to shew that the government of Christ's church in *England*, did not depend upon the pope, but hath been directed by such princes as God had placed under him to govern the people of this realm, has given us a table of the ecclesiastical laws made by several of the kings of *England*, for the government of the *British* church. I shall only take notice of that of *Canutus the Dane*, who Anno 1016. began to reign in this land Anno 1016. Among many other ecclesiastical laws, he made this: 'That every Christian man understand the points of his faith; and that, at the least, he learn perfectly the Lord's prayer and the creed; and that whosoever cannot, the same shall be excluded from the eucharist, and shall not be received, to undertake for others in baptism.'

Acts and Mon.
Vol. I.
P. 1017.

Though the *baptism* of infants seems now to be pretty well established in this realm; yet the practice of *immersion* in *baptism* continued many years longer; and there were not persons wanting to oppose *infant baptism*. For in the time of *William the conqueror*, and his son *William Rufus*, it appears; that the *Waldenses* and their disciples, out of *France*, *Germany* and *Holland*, had their frequent recourse and residence, and did abound in *England*. Mr. Danvers cites bishop *Usher*, *Treat. of Bapt.* who, he says, tells us, 'That the *Beringarian*, or *Waldensian* heresy, as the chronologer calls it, had, about that time, viz. Anno 1080. generally corrupted all *France*, *Italy* and *England*. And further, the said bishop tells us, out of *Guitmond*, a popish writer of that time, That not only the meaner sort in the country villages, but the nobi-

‘ nobility and gentry in the chiefest towns and
 ‘ cities, were infected therewith; and there-
 ‘ fore doth *Lanfrank*, who was archbishop
 ‘ of *Canterbury*, in the time of both these
 ‘ kings, about the year 1087, write a book
 ‘ against them.

‘ In the time of *Henry I.* and king *Ste-*
 ‘ *phen*, the said bishop *Usher* tells us, out of
 ‘ *Popliner’s* history of *France*, That the *Wal-*
 Anno 1100. ‘ *denses of Aquitain* did, about the year 1100.
 ‘ spread themselves and their doctrines all
 ‘ Europe over, whereof he mentions *England*
 ‘ in particular.’

Anno 1158. ‘ About the year 1158, there came about
 thirty persons of the *Waldensian* sect over into
England, and endeavour’d to seminate their
 doctrines here: These are supposed to reject
infant baptism; the two chief of them were
Gerberdus and *Dulcinus*.

Acts and Mon. Thus, says Mr. Fox, ‘ *Gerbardus and Dul-*
 Vol. I. p. 262. ‘ *cinus Nauarensis*, who, in their time, ac-
 ‘ cording to their gift, did earnestly labour and
 ‘ preach against the church of *Rome*, defend-
 ‘ ing and maintaining, that prayer was not
 ‘ more holy in one place than in another;
 ‘ that the pope was antichrist; that the clergy
 ‘ and prelates of *Rome* were reject, and the
 ‘ very whore of *Babylon* prefigured in the
 ‘ apocalypse, &c. Peradventure, says Mr.
 ‘ Fox, these had received some light of know-
 ‘ ledge of the *Waldenses*, who, at length,
 ‘ with a great number of their followers,
 ‘ were oppressed and slain by the pope.

‘ *Illyricus*, in his book *De testibus*, refer-
 ‘ reth the time of these two to the year of our
 ‘ Lord 1280. But, as I find in the story of
 ‘ *Robert Guisbarne*, these two, about the
 ‘ year

‘ year of our Lord 1158, brought thirty
 ‘ with them into *England*; who, by the king
 ‘ and the prelates, were all burnt in the fore-
 ‘ head, and so driven out of the realm; and
 ‘ after, were slain by the pope.’

Mr. *Danvers* cites *Roger Hoveden*; who *Treat. of Bapt.*
 in his annals upon the year 1182, saith, p. 277.

‘ That *Henry II.* was then very favourable to
 ‘ the *Waldensian* sect in *England*; for where-
 ‘ as they burnt them in some places of
 ‘ *France, Italy and Flanders*, by great num-
 ‘ bers, he would not in the least suffer any
 ‘ such thing here, he being in his own wives
 ‘ right, possessor of *Aquitain, Poictou, Guien,*
 ‘ *Gascoyn, Normandy, &c.* the principal pla-
 ‘ ces where the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses* in-
 ‘ habited, and who being his subjects in
 ‘ *France*, had the freer egress into his terri-
 ‘ tories here.

‘ In the time of *Richard I.* and king *John*,
 ‘ we read of no opposition made against
 ‘ them, being times of great trouble, what
 ‘ by *Richards*’ absence in the *holy wars*, and
 ‘ his imprisonment by the emperor at his re-
 ‘ turn; and the grievous wars, both foreign
 ‘ and domestic, that attended king *John*,
 ‘ and the great contests he had with the
 ‘ pope, who interdicted his kingdom, forbad
 ‘ all publick worship in the nation, for the
 ‘ space of *six years*, only admitting of pri-
 ‘ vate baptism to infants, procured the greater
 ‘ freedom to the Christians, as well as the
 ‘ greater opportunity in those disturbances to
 ‘ propagate the truth. —

‘ In the time of *Henry III.* about the year
 ‘ 1235, as saith bishop *Usher* out of *Matth.*
 ‘ *Paris*, The orders of the *Friers Minorites*
 ‘ came

‘came into *England*, to suppress this *Waldensian* heresy.’

Anno 1315. In the time of king *Edward* the second, about the year 1315. *Walter Lollard*, a German preacher, a man of great renown among the *Waldenses*, came into *England*; he spread their doctrines very much in these parts; so that afterwards they went by the name of *Lollards*.

Ch. History, Says Mr. *Fuller*: ‘By *Lollards*, all know
Lib.iv. p.163. ‘the *Wicklivites* are meant; so called from
‘*Walter Lollardus*, one of their teachers
‘in *Germany*, flourishing many years before
‘*Wickliffe*, and much consenting with him in
‘judgment.’

Of *Wickliff*, his opinions, and his followers, who were called *Lollards*, I have given an account in *Chap. i.* of the first volume. I shall only now further observe, That the practice of *immersion* or dipping in *baptism*, continued in the church until the reign of king *James I.* or about the year 1600. which I shall transcribe from that ingenious and worthy gentleman, Sir *John Floyer* of *Litchfield*, Knt. who begins his third letter concerning the ancient *immersion* of infants in baptism, thus:

History of cold ‘To the Reverend the Dean and Canons, Re-
bathing. Ed.3. ‘sidentiaries of the Cathedral Church of
p. 50. ‘*Litchfield*.

‘My Reverend friends,

‘MY design being to recommend the
‘use of cold bathing to this country,
‘I thought it necessary for the assuring all
‘people of the innocency of that practice, to
‘represent

' represent to them the ancient custom of our
 ' church in the immersion of infants, as well
 ' as all other people at their baptism. And I
 ' do here appeal to you, as persons well versed
 ' in the ancient history, and canons, and ce-
 ' remonies of the church of *England*; and
 ' therefore are sufficient witnesses of the mat-
 ' ter of fact which I design to prove, viz.
 ' That *immersion* continued in the church of
 ' *England* till about the year 1600. And from
 ' thence I shall infer, that if God and the
 ' church thought that practice innocent for
 ' 1600 years, it must be accounted an unrea-
 ' sonable nicety in this present age, to scruple
 ' either *immersion* or cold bathing as danger-
 ' ous practices.'

To prove that it was the general practice
 of the primitive church to baptize their con-
 verts in fountains, ponds, or rivers; ' After
 ' that manner, says he, all nations, whether
 ' *Northern* or *Southern*, received the baptis-
 ' mal ablution.

' The holy scriptures inform us, that St.
 ' *John* baptized in *Jordan*; and this was part
 ' of our *English* liturgy, *That by the baptism*
 ' *of thy well beloved son, Jesus Christ, did*
 ' *sanctify the flood Jordan, and all other waters.*
 ' *Paul* baptized *Lydia* in a river. And *Phi-*
 ' *lip* baptized the eunuch in a water; of
 ' whom 'tis writ, *That they went both down*
 ' *into the water.* *Tertullian* affirms, That
 ' *Peter* baptized many in the *Tyber*.

' 'Tis certain, says he, that there were no
 ' baptisteries built till after the second century;
 ' and then they were not built in the church,
 ' but out of it, and near to some cathedral;

‘ where the bishop used to baptize at the *Eves*
 ‘ of *Easter* and *Whitsontide*.’

He cites *St. Chrysostom*, *St. Ambrose* and
St. Cyprian, to prove that *baptism* was per-
 form’d by *immersion* : And then tells us, That
 ‘ in the time of *Clodoveus*, the *French* king’s
 ‘ baptisteries were built in the *Western* church,
 ‘ and placed near the door on the left hand ;
 ‘ they were parted in the middle by a travers
 ‘ of wood ; one part was allotted to the wo-
 ‘ men, and the other to the men ; and Dea-
 ‘ conesses were appointed to assist in the bap-
 ‘ tizing of the women——

‘ In all these baptisteries, says he, they
 ‘ used *immersion* ; and they descended by
 ‘ steps into them as into a sepulchre ; be-
 ‘ cause we are said to be *buried with him*
 ‘ in *baptism* ; and it was the custom of the
 ‘ godfathers to receive the men, and the God-
 ‘ mothers the women, as they came out of
 ‘ the water.’

To answer the objection, That this practice
 may be fitter for hot climates than the cold.
 He cites the baptism of king *Lucius* and his
 people by *Phaganus* and *Deruvianus* ; and
 how *Paulinus* baptized king *Edwin* at *York*,
 and great numbers in the rivers *Glen*, *Swalva*,
 and *Trakenta*, with other instances to the
 same purpose. And in conclusion says ; ‘ By
 ‘ all the preceding quotations from *Bede*, ’tis
 ‘ clearly prov’d, that *immersion* was the gene-
 ‘ ral practice in the first planting of Christi-
 ‘ anity in *England*, and by the following in-
 ‘ stances it will appear, that it was continued
 ‘ in the *English* church till the time of king
 ‘ *James I.*

‘ In *Spelman’s Concilia*, part the first, in
 ‘ the synod of *Cheluchyth*, under *Wulfred*
 ‘ archbishop of *Canterbury*, *An. 821. cap. 22.*
 ‘ I find these words; *Sciunt etiam presbyteri,*
 ‘ *quando sacrum baptisma ministrant, ut non*
 ‘ *effundant aquam sanctam super capita in-*
 ‘ *fantum, sed semper mergantur in lavacro,*
 ‘ *sicut exemplum præbuit per semet ipsum Dei*
 ‘ *filius omni credenti, quando esset ter mersus*
 ‘ *in undis Jordanis.*

‘ That the same custom continued after-
 ‘ wards, appears by the *Cassilian* council in
 ‘ *Ireland*, *Anno 1172.* in part second of *Spel-*
 ‘ *man’s Concilia*; where it was order’d, *Ut*
 ‘ *pueri deferrentur ad ecclesiam, et ibi bapti-*
 ‘ *zentur in aqua munda, trina mersione.* And
 ‘ in the year 1195, in the council at *York*, it
 ‘ was order’d, *Ne in baptisinate plures quam*
 ‘ *tres suscipiant puerum de sacro fonte.* And
 ‘ *Spelman* shews the continuance of immer-
 ‘ sion, by a statute made in the council at
 ‘ *London*, held 1200; *Si vero puer in necessi-*
 ‘ *tate baptizetur à laico; sequentia immersio-*
 ‘ *nem, non præcedentia per sacerdotem exple-*
 ‘ *antur.* Many more testimonies of the im-
 ‘ mersion may be observed in *Spelman.*

‘ In the constitutions of *Ric. Episc. Sa-*
 ‘ *rum*, 1217, ’tis order’d, That in baptizing
 ‘ of a boy, there shall be but three, *ad*
 ‘ *levandum puerum de fonte.* And in the con-
 ‘ stitutions of *Ric. Episc. Dunelm.* 1220, ’tis
 ‘ order’d, That the water where the child is
 ‘ baptized, shall not be kept above seven
 ‘ days: And in the *Synodus Wigorniensis*,
 ‘ *Trina semper fiat immersio baptizandi*, *An-*
 ‘ *no 1240.* And in the *Synodus Exoniensis*,
 ‘ 1287. *Si puer rite baptizatus, non ipsa sub-*
 ‘ *mersio,*

‘*mersio, nec præcedentia, sed subsequētia per*
 ‘*sacerdotem suppleantur.* And the *Synodus*
 ‘*Wintoniensis*, Anno 1306, mentions the
 ‘*immersion*. I have quoted all the preceding
 ‘passages, says Sir *John*, from *Spelman*,
 ‘whose credit cannot be questioned: and I
 ‘desire also thence to observe, That the *im-*
 ‘*merſion* was always used to children as well
 ‘as adult persons.

‘I will next, says he, produce *Linwood*,
 ‘who began to write his *Constitutiones An-*
 ‘*glie*, about the year 1422. And he gives
 ‘the provincial constitutions of *Edmund Episc.*
 ‘*Cant. Anno Dom. 1234. Baptisterium habe-*
 ‘*atur in qualibet ecclesia baptismali lapideum,*
 ‘*vel aliud competens.* And a competent bap-
 ‘tistery *Linwood* interprets big enough for the
 ‘immersion of the person to be baptized.
 ‘And *Linwood*, p. 242. gives these remarks
 ‘on the different ways of baptizing; al-
 ‘though *baptism* may be performed by *asper-*
 ‘*sion*, or *effusion* of water, where there is
 ‘such a custom, yet the more laudable cu-
 ‘stom is, that it should be done by *immersion*;
 ‘and though the *immersion* may be one, yet
 ‘the custom of the trine *immersion* is more to
 ‘be approved, because it signifies our faith in
 ‘the Trinity, and the three days sepulture of
 ‘Christ. Though this was the opinion of the
 ‘*Canonists* in his days, yet, ’tis plain, that the
 ‘trine *immersion* continued longer in *England*;
 ‘for *Erasmus* noted it as a piece of singularity
 ‘in the *English* church; because, in his time,
 ‘they used immersion. And it is evident, by
 ‘the rubrick in king *Edward VIth’s* days,
 ‘that the *English* church used that practice.

• Then

‘ Then shall the priest take the child in his
 ‘ hands, and ask the name, and naming the
 ‘ child, shall dip it in the water thrice ; *first*,
 ‘ dipping the right side, *secondly*, the left side,
 ‘ and the *third* time, dipping the face towards
 ‘ the font, so it be discreetly and warily done.
 ‘ In the Common-prayer-book, in queen *Eliz-*
 ‘ *abeth’s* days, the *rubrick* says, naming the
 ‘ child, you shall *dip* it in the water, so it
 ‘ be discreetly and warily done ; but if the
 ‘ child be weak, or be baptized privately,
 ‘ in case of necessity, it was sufficient to pour
 ‘ water upon it.

‘ King *Edward’s* injunctions were pub-
 ‘ lish’d, 1547. by which all people were for-
 ‘ bid the breaking obstinately the laudable
 ‘ ceremonies of the church. And in *Sparrow’s*
 ‘ *collection of articles*, &c. in the articles of
 ‘ queen *Elizabeth*, 1564, ’tis order’d, That
 ‘ the font be not remov’d, nor that the curate
 ‘ do baptize in any parish churches in any ba-
 ‘ son, nor in any other form than is already
 ‘ prescribed. And 1571, *Liber canonum*,
 ‘ *postremo curabunt ut in singulis ecclesiis sit*
 ‘ *facer fons, non pelvis, in quo baptismus mi-*
 ‘ *nistratur, riteque, decenter et mundè con-*
 ‘ *servetur.*

‘ I have now given, says Sir *John*, what
 ‘ testimony I could find in our *English* authors,
 ‘ to prove the constant practice of *immersion*,
 ‘ from the time the *Britons* and *Saxons* were
 ‘ baptized, till king *James’s* days, when the
 ‘ people grew peevish with all ancient cere-
 ‘ monies ; and through the love of novelty,
 ‘ and the niceness of parents, and the pretence
 ‘ of modesty, they laid aside *immersion* ;
 ‘ which never was abrogated by any canon ;

‘ but is still recommended by the present
‘ *rubrick* of our church ; which orders the
‘ child to be *dip’d* discreetly and warily.’

*Hist. of cold
bathing*, p. 63.

He observes, That ‘ when Christianity was
‘ first planted, the bath structures were turn-
‘ ed into temples, and the *Piscina*’s or cold
‘ baths, were called *Baptisteria* by *Pliny*, ju-
‘ nior, and in them they baptized frequently.
‘ And that the *Saxons* who succeeded the *Ro-*
‘ *mans*, brought in the *German* custom of
‘ washing in rivers for the preserving of their
‘ healths ; and that made them receive the
‘ baptismal *immersion* in rivers and fountains,
‘ without any scruple ; and, ’tis probable,
‘ that on these the first Christians imposed the
‘ names of their saints, and religion taught the
‘ Heathens to change the names of their
‘ springs, and dedicate them to their Christian
‘ saints ; which, for their great cures, were
‘ formerly dedicated to their demons. So
‘ *Virgo*, the famous spring at *Rome*, which
‘ was dedicated to *Diana*, was afterwards
‘ consecrated *Divæ Mariæ Virgini*, as the
‘ learned *Baccius* affirms.’

Ibid. p. 164.

Though the practice of *immersion* was now
generally disused in *England*, yet there were
some who were unwilling to part with this
laudable and ancient practice.

Ibid. p. 61.

‘ I have been credibly informed, says Sir
‘ *John Floyer*, by a person of quality, who
‘ had the relation from Mrs. *Shaw*, an an-
‘ cient midwife ; that Sir *Robert Shirly*, in
‘ king *Charles I*’s days, caused three of his
‘ sons to be *dipped* in the font without any
‘ prejudice to them : and that one of that ho-
‘ nourable family, who was thus baptized is
‘ now living. I mention this, says he, to

‘ shew the opinion of some in those days,
 ‘ who thought that *immersion* innocent; and
 ‘ ’tis probable, that many others were very
 ‘ unwilling to part with this laudable and
 ‘ ancient practice of *immersion*.’

And in another place he says, ‘ That I may Ibid. p. 182.
 ‘ farther convince all my countrymen, that
 ‘ *immersion* in *baptism* was very lately left off in
 ‘ *England*; I will assure them, that there are
 ‘ yet persons living who were so *immersed*;
 ‘ for I was informed by Mr. *Berisford*, mini-
 ‘ ster of *Stretton* in *Derbyshire*, that his pa-
 ‘ rents *immersed* not only him, but the rest
 ‘ of his family at his *baptism*. He is now
 ‘ about sixty six years old;’ which, by the
 date of the letter must be about the year 1640.

In another place, says Sir *John*, ‘ A per- Ibid. p. 14.
 ‘ son of eighty years old, who was then ve-
 ‘ ry sensible, told me, that in his time he
 ‘ could not remember the dipping of infants
 ‘ in *England* at their baptism, but that his
 ‘ father oft spoke of it; and farther told him,
 ‘ That the parents used always at the bap-
 ‘ tism of their children, to desire the priest to
 ‘ dip that part very well, in which any dis-
 ‘ ease used to afflict themselves, to prevent its
 ‘ being hereditary.’

And he asserts, That ‘ it has been a pro- Ibid. p. 6.
 ‘ verbial saying amongst the old people, *That*
 ‘ *if any one complained of any pain in their*
 ‘ *limbs, surely that limb had never been dip-*
 ‘ *ped in the font.*

‘ The *Welsh*, says he, have more lately left Ibid. p. 14.
 ‘ *immersion*; for some middle aged persons
 ‘ have told me, That they could remember
 ‘ their dipping in *baptism*.’ And he endea-
 vours to prove that custom useful to the

Ibid. p. 15.

health of infants and others; and says, 'That
' it is only a vain fear in the parents, which
' has occasioned the disuse of it; to which the
' Canon 1603, in king *James's* days, might
' a little contribute, through the mistake of
' its sense; for there all baptism, whether by
' *immersion* or *asperision*, is declared valid.'

Thus have I traced the practice of the *British* churches in the point of baptism till sprinkling took place. And to me it seems evident beyond contradiction, that about three hundred years after the first plantation of the gospel in *Britain*, no other baptism was used but that of *adult persons*, by immersion, or dipping the body of the person, upon the profession of his faith; and that after the subject was changed, and infant baptism introduced by a massacre of almost all that refused to comply with the change; yet the *mode of baptism* by immersion continued about twelve hundred years; and though the *mode* be now changed, and sprinkling has gained the ascendant, yet I must beg of the pædobaptist gentlemen (and I doubt not but all the *English baptists* will join with me) to shew us, where Christ has given to any men or church, a dispensation to change his laws and ordinances, or make them void by their traditions, seeing they are all, except the *Papists*, ready to join with us, in declaring God's word to be our rule in all points of faith and practice, to the end of the world; as I shall shew in my preface to the next volume.

How doth God complain, by the prophet, of his people of old, for presuming to change his laws? He gave a particular command, that his altars should be made of earth or
rough

rough stone; and reprov'd their horrid transgression and disobedience in acting contrary to his exprefs institution; *A people, saith God, Isa. lxxv. 3. that provoke me to anger continually to my face, that sacrificeth in gardens, and burneth incense upon altars of brick.*

I shall leave the reader to judge, whether *changing baptism*, which God has expressly commanded to be administred by dipping believers, on profession of repentance and faith, into that of sprinkling infants, be not a transgression of his precept, in as bad or worse a manner, than that of building altars of brick, which God himself declares was a provoking him continually to his face.

But the *English Baptists* dare not do thus, though the *Pædobaptists* have said much, and they think to little purpose, to prove that the word *baptism* may be taken in a larger sense than strictly to signify immersion in water; because, unless it can be shewed from the holy scriptures, that the word *baptism* was, or may be taken for *sprinkling* or *pouring* water upon a person, as well in the administration of this ordinance, as in any common use, they conceive, there cannot be from thence drawn any solid argument for the change of this sacred rite.

It is true, some attempts have been made by gentlemen of great learning towards it; and they have been replied to by the *Baptists*. And as far as I can find, in pursuing their history, they have always had an open ear to conviction, and been a people who love and honour all men fearing God, whether they agree with, or disagree from them, in their opinion concerning baptism. But instead of a fair and

candid conviction in a Christian way, it has too much been their lot to be render'd by their opponents, *as odious as they could, and as if they had nothing to say for their practice.* Thus the reverend Mr *Neal*, in his *History of the Puritans*, a work that is a sufficient evidence of his great industry and good judgment, yet labours under this prejudice against the *Baptists*; not for want of being better informed, for then something might be said in his excuse. He says, 'The advocates of this doctrine were, for the most part, of the meanest of the people; their preachers were generally illiterate.'

This Gentleman's candour and justice will appear, if we do but compare this with the account Captain *Richard Deane* gave to that worthy prelate Dr. *Barlow*, bishop of *Lincoln*, of the *English Baptists*, in this very time Mr. *Neal* mentions. He says, he hopes they will, in his lordship's charity (so far as their conversation suits with their doctrine) be admitted among the number of sincere Christians: and further, thus expresses himself. 'That your lordship may make the better judgment of the disciples and state of this Sect, concerning whom I write this; I crave leave to bring to your remembrance some of their leaders, and the occasions which prepared the way for the increase of their numbers.'

'About thirty eight years since, in the heat of our late troubles, *Episcopacy* being laid aside, and *Presbytery* only, as it were by way of experiment, for a season attempted, but never, in a national way prosecuted with effect, every man was at liberty to pursue the

Letter, p. 7.

‘ the persuasions of his own mind, as to entering into church fellowship in distinct congregations, and therein to join with such as he conceived came nearest to the primitive pattern in worship and discipline.

‘ About that time, says he, and a little after, there were many ministers, some who had been before ordained, and others who were admitted to parochial and other publick charges. Among whom, of my acquaintance, were Mr. *Tombes*, sometime preacher at the *Temple*, Mr. *Christopher Blackwood* in *Kent*, Mr. *Benjamin Cox* at *Bedford*, Mr. *Edward Harrisson*, Mr. *Daniel Dyke*, and some others in or near *Hertfordshire*, Mr. *Hanserd Knollys*, and many others, who did openly profess, and several of them write, and publish their opinions concerning the proper subject and manner of baptism. Some of them voluntarily left their parochial charges and benefices, as not approving the baptizing of infants, and collected distinct congregations of such as agreed with them in this doctrine of baptism; which, by a succession of ordained ministers, in the place of such as are dead, remain to this day.’

I shall add to this, the names of other worthy Gentlemen who left the practice of *Infant baptism*, were themselves baptized by immersion, and joined themselves with the baptized churches, viz. *John Harding*, D. D.

———— *Duveil*, D. D. Mr. *Vavasor Powel*, Mr. *James Brown*, Mr. *Robert Brown*, Mr. *Henry Jessy*, Mr. *Thomas Hardcastle*, Mr. *Francis Cornwell*, Mr. *John Gosnold*, Mr. *Henry Denne*, Mr. *Samuel Fisher*, Mr. *Henry Mor-*

Morris, Mr. Richard Claridge, Mr. John Keith, Mr. Francis Bampffield, Mr. ——— Abbot, Mr. ——— Seykmore, Mr. William Kaye, Mr. William Britten, Mr. Henry Forty, Mr. Joseph Maisters, Mr. Robert Steed, Mr. ——— Williams, Mr. ——— London, Mr. Richard Adams, Mr. John Canne.

These were *Advocates*, who the reverend Mr. Neal would have us to esteem, *illiterate, and of the meanest of the people*. And if so, I hope he will not look upon it as an hard task to make a reply to the account which the Captain has given of their judgment and practice (the which I have placed in the *Appendix*, N^o. 3.) and the rather, because, in my opinion, all the *Baptists* ever since have, by their doctrine and conversation attested what is asserted by this author.





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ERRATA.

PREFACE.

PAGE 37. line 1. for *cowd* read *croud*.

HISTORY.

- Page 17. line 10. for *they* read *have*.
— 98. — 1. for *distuburbance* r. *disturbance*.
— 103. — 2. read *in* all.
— 125. — 22. read *to* them.
— 132. — 13. read *of* them.
— 206. — 11. for *be which* r. *which be*.
— 294. — 15. for *from* r. *of*.
— 299. — 21. for *absured* r. *absurd*.
— 363. — 29. for *any* r. *un*.

APPENDIX.

Page 24. line 33. for *Trinty* read *Trinity*.

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T H E *M. A. W. M.*
HISTORY
O F T H E
English Baptists.



C H A P. I.

*From the restoration of King
Charles II. to the banishment of
the Earl of Clarendon in 1667.*



A D and melancholy was the state of these kingdoms, during the late usurpation. Whether they were *Papists, Episcopals, Presbyterians, Independants, or Baptists*, who were the instruments made use of by Providence to bring about that sad revolution, is not much material

Anno
1662.

to the present generation. Tho' great pains have been taken by historians, to clear the party on whose side they wrote, from the *odium* thereof, and to fix it upon the rest; the truth is, in my judgment, they were all in some measure concern'd in it. This is certain, and beyond contradiction, that the *Presbyterians* assumed the government; and had not Providence in so wonderful a manner appeared, and defeated their designs, the whole kingdom must have speedily conformed, or have felt the smart of their government.

BUT because some have charged the *Baptists*, upon a presumption, from the favour of *Cromwell* towards them, till his assuming the supreme power; I shall cite the evidence of Capt. *Richard Dean*, who in his letter to Dr. *Barlow*, bishop of *Lincoln*, having spoken of the great increase of the *Baptists* in the year 1649, says: That ' in that time, did this opinion spread itself also into some of the ' regiments of horse and foot in the army; and that in 1650, and afterwards, ' some professing this opinion were called ' from their private employments, and ' preferr'd to commands at sea. Among ' others, Capt. *Mildmay*, to command ' the Admiral Flagship, under the late ' Duke of *Albemarle*, when he was ' one of the generals at sea. Capt. ' *Pack* to command the Flagship under ' Sir

Edit.

1693, p.
10, &c.

‘ Sir *George Ascue*, Rear-Admiral; Sir
 ‘ *John Harman*, to command the Ad-
 ‘ miral Flagship, under his Royal High-
 ‘ ness the Duke of *York*.

‘ B U T notwithstanding some of this
 ‘ sect had that countenance given them;
 ‘ as I have mentioned, by such as had
 ‘ the principal management of affairs;
 ‘ yet this sect in general, as they have
 ‘ publish’d in their *Apologies*, were the
 ‘ least of any sort of people concern’d in
 ‘ any vicissitudes of government that hap-
 ‘ pen’d among us: My station within the
 ‘ afore mention’d ten years, gave me op-
 ‘ portunity to know most persons and
 ‘ actions of note, in reference as well to
 ‘ civil, as martial affairs, and particular-
 ‘ ly those of this sect. And although in
 ‘ and after the year 1649, their numbers
 ‘ did encrease, insomuch that the princi-
 ‘ pal officers in divers regiments of horse
 ‘ and foot became *Anabaptists*; particu-
 ‘ larly in *Oliver Cromwell*’s own regiment
 ‘ of horse, when he was Captain-General
 ‘ of all the Parliament’s forces; and in
 ‘ the Duke of *Albemarle*’s own regiment
 ‘ of foot when he was General of all the
 ‘ *English* forces in *Scotland*: Yet by the best
 ‘ information I could have, there were not
 ‘ at any time, before the year 1649,
 ‘ twenty *Anabaptists* in any sort of com-
 ‘ mand in the whole army; and until
 ‘ after the year 1648, there were no more

‘ than two; viz. Mr. *Laurence*, and Mr.
 ‘ *John Fiennes*, one of the Lord *Say*’s
 ‘ sons, who made profession of this opi-
 ‘ nion, chosen into the Common’s House
 ‘ of Parliament; and both these did in that
 ‘ year, and in the life-time of K. *Charles I.*
 ‘ as I have been credibly inform’d, vo-
 ‘ luntarily depart from that Parliament,
 ‘ as not approving their proceedings
 ‘ against the person of the King, and
 ‘ sat no more in it, but liv’d privately
 ‘ until about six years afterwards, a new
 ‘ form of government being then formed,
 ‘ and in appearance settled, Mr. *Laurence*
 ‘ was called again into publick employ-
 ‘ ment.

‘ I CONFESS to your Lordship, I ne-
 ‘ ver heard of any *Anabaptist* in the King’s
 ‘ army, during the contest between his
 ‘ Majesty and the Parliament. And per-
 ‘ haps, because there were some in the
 ‘ Parliament’s army, and none in the
 ‘ King’s army, some persons have from
 ‘ thence taken occasion to affirm, that
 ‘ the opinion of Anabaptism in the church
 ‘ is opposite to monarchy in the state.
 ‘ It is true, says he, as before is men-
 ‘ tion’d, that this opinion was no gene-
 ‘ ral bar to the continuance of such as
 ‘ did embrace it, in publick employment,
 ‘ tho’ I have cause to believe, one special
 ‘ reason of disbanding one entire regiment
 ‘ in the Earl of *Essex*’s army, was, for
 ‘ that

‘ that the Colonel entertained and gave
 ‘ countenance to *Separatists* and some *A-*
 ‘ *nabaptists*. And that which occasion’d
 ‘ *Oliver Cromwell*, after he usurped the
 ‘ government of Lord Protector, to dis-
 ‘ charge at once all the principal officers
 ‘ of his own regiment upon other pre-
 ‘ tences, was, for that they were all *A-*
 ‘ *nabaptists*.’

*Colonel
Holm-
stead’s.*

HENCE I think it evidently appears,
 that the *Baptists* were not in power, at
 the time of the King’s death; and that
 afterwards they were not so much in fa-
 vour with the Protector, who was the
 chief author of the King’s death, as to
 give any grounds to charge that action
 upon them.

KING *Charles II.* was receiv’d with the
 general acclamation of the people. ‘ At
 ‘ his arrival, says *Rapin* ^a, the face of
 ‘ *England* was entirely changed; and
 ‘ joy, pleasures, publick and private re-
 ‘ joicings, succeeded to trouble, fear and
 ‘ consternation. The people were so ti-
 ‘ red of the life they had led for twenty
 ‘ years past, that they did not believe it
 ‘ possible to be in a worse state. Every
 ‘ one rejoiced to see at last a calm, af-
 ‘ ter so long a storm; and expected to
 ‘ enjoy a tranquillity, sought in vain for
 ‘ so many years. The *Royalists* and *E-*
 ‘ *piscopals* were at once raised to the

*King
Char. II.
restor’d.*

^a Vol. II. p. 618.

‘ height of their wishes, in beholding
 ‘ *Charles II.* on the throne of his ances-
 ‘ tors, and the church of *England* about
 ‘ to resume her former lustre. The
 ‘ *Presbyterians* flatter’d themselves, that
 ‘ their late services for the King, would
 ‘ at least procure them an entire liberty
 ‘ of conscience, and the free exercise of
 ‘ their religion. The *Republicans*, *Inde-*
 ‘ *pendants*, *Anabaptists*, could not indeed
 ‘ hope to be restor’d to the state, they
 ‘ had enjoy’d so many years; but expect-
 ‘ ed at least an intire impunity, agreea-
 ‘ bly to the *Breda* declaration.’ In which
 was this clause^b: ‘ And because the pas-
 ‘ sion and uncharitableness of the times
 ‘ have produc’d several opinions in reli-
 ‘ gion, by which men are engaged in
 ‘ parties, and animosities against each o-
 ‘ ther, which, when they shall hereafter
 ‘ unite in a freedom of conversation, will
 ‘ be compos’d or better understood: We
 ‘ do declare, a liberty to tender consci-
 ‘ ences; and that no man shall be disquiet-
 ‘ ed, or called in question, for differences of
 ‘ opinion in matters of religion, which do
 ‘ not disturb the peace of the kingdom;
 ‘ and that we shall be ready, to consent
 ‘ to such an Act of Parliament, as upon
 ‘ mature deliberation shall be offered un-
 ‘ to us for the full granting that indul-
 ‘ gence.’

^b Rapin, Vol. II. p. 616.

‘ THE *Regicides*, says *Rapin* ^c, that is,
 ‘ the late King’s judges, were the only
 ‘ persons, that could not but expect the
 ‘ punishment they justly deserved. And
 ‘ yet, even they despaired not of the
 ‘ King’s clemency, as indeed, such as
 ‘ cast themselves upon it were not wholly
 ‘ disappointed. It is not therefore strange,
 ‘ that the whole kingdom should resound
 ‘ with joyful transports, and unite in re-
 ‘ ceiving with loud acclamations, a King,
 ‘ who, according to the general expecta-
 ‘ tion, was to restore the publick tran-
 ‘ quillity and happiness, and put all things
 ‘ in their natural order.

‘ As soon as the King was arriv’d in *England* ^d, the Assembly which from
 ‘ the 25th of *April*, had been honoured *Declares*
 ‘ with the name of *Parliament*, was on- *the Con-*
 ‘ ly called the *Convention*, the King be- *vention a*
 ‘ ing unwilling to own for Parliament an *free Par-*
 ‘ assembly which had not been summon- *liament.*
 ‘ ed by his writs. But this change of
 ‘ name was of no long continuance. Two
 ‘ days after his arrival, the King went to
 ‘ the House of Lords; where he sent for
 ‘ the Commons, and gave the royal assent
 ‘ to three acts; the first was to change
 ‘ the *Convention* into a *Parliament*.’ And
 ‘ to prevent all doubts and scruples con-
 ‘ cerning this Parliament, it was enacted;

Stat. 12.
Car. II. c.
1.

^c Rapin, Vol. II. p. 618.

^d Ib. Vol II. p. 619.

That the Lords and Commons, then sitting at *Westminster*, were the two Houses of Parliament, and so should be declar'd and adjudg'd to be, notwithstanding any want of the King's writs of summons.

THIS Parliament began with the act of *indemnity*: And the Commons in an address presented to the King, declar'd, they accepted the gracious pardon offer'd by his Majesty in his declaration from *Breda*, with reference to the excepting of such as should be excepted in an act of pardon. The Lords likewise, says *Rapin*^e, presented a petition of the like import.

*Publishes
a procla-
mation.*

IMMEDIATELY after, the King publish'd a proclamation; declaring, that all such of the late King's judges, as did not surrender themselves within fourteen days, should be absolutely excluded from the general pardon. In consequence of this proclamation, twenty of them voluntarily surrendred themselves; others withdrew out of the kingdom, and some were taken in attempting to escape. During the adjournment of the Parliament^f, the King appointed commissioners for trial of the *Regicides*. The number of those concern'd in the late King's death, as judges, officers of the court of justice and others, amounted to fourscore and one; of whom

*The Regi-
cides tried.*

^e Rapin, Vol. II. p. 619.

^f Ib. Vol. II. p. 621.

twentyfive were dead, *nineteen* had made their escape; *seven* others, for having been less engaged in the crime, were thought worthy of the King's clemency; and *twentynine* were condemn'd to die, *ten* And some executed. only were executed; the rest were pardon-
ed as to life; but reserv'd for other penalties, as imprisonment, banishment, and forfeiture of estate. Of those that were executed, says *Rapin*, they were almost all *Anabaptists, Enthusiasts, Fifth Monarchy-men, &c.*

I DO not find that any of the King's judges were *Baptists*, except Major-General *Harrison*; and if there were more of them such, it reflects no more *odium* on the profession of the *English Baptists*, than on the other denominations to which the rest belonged. But it is easy to see the partiality of *Rapin* towards the Dissenters, who were not of his own profession. And I believe none will deny the difficulties that must consequently attend those, be their profession of religion what it will, when they are under the power of them, who have the sword of government in their hands. Major Gen. Harrison.

MR. *Baxter* records the Major as an *Anabaptist*; and yet acknowledges, that Life, Part I. p. 57. he was a man of excellent natural parts for affection and oratory: And further Ib. p. 74. tells us, that *Cromwell*, when he thought himself well settled in his Protectorship, began

began to undermine the *Seſtarians*, of whom Mr. *Hariſon* he ſays, was become the head and tho' *Cromwell*; had often ſpoken for the *Anabaptiſts*, he deſign'd now to ſettle himſelf in the people's favour by ſuppreſſing them. Hereupon Mr. *Hariſon* was by him made contemptible, who, but yeſterday, ſays Mr. *Baxter*, thought himſelf not much below him.

THE controversy between him and the ſtate is a point too tender to be touch'd upon. But his behaviour under his ſufferings, publiſh'd in the year 1660, ſhews him to be a man of great piety, and one who believ'd in his conſcience he was not culpable: Nor did he upon his trial attempt to evade any thing he was charg'd with, but own'd his hand to the warrant for convening the *High Court of Juſtice*, and alſo to that for execution of the ſentence againſt the King. ' I do not come, ' ſays he, to be denying any thing, that ' in my own judgment and conſcience I ' have done or committed, but rather to ' be bringing it forth to the light.' And in his defence he ſaid, he had two things to offer to the court in matter of law. One is ſays he, ' That this, that hath been ' done, was done by a *Parliament* of ' *England*, by the Commons of *England* ' aſſembled in *Parliament*; and that being ſo, whatever was done by their ' commands, or their authority, is not ' queſ-

*Trial of
the Regi-
cides, p.
54.*

Ib. p. 59.

‘ questionable by your *Lordship's*, as being, as I humbly conceive, a power inferior to that of an *High Court of Parliament*.’ That’s one. A second is this; ‘ That what therefore any did in obedience to that power and authority, they are not to be question’d for it; otherwise we are in a most miserable condition, bound to obey them that are in authority, and yet to be punish’d if obey’d. We are not to judge what is lawful or what is unlawful. My *Lords*, upon these two points I do desire, that those that are learned in the laws may speak to on my behalf. It concerns all my countrymen. There are cases alike to this, you know in King *Richard II*’s time; wherein some question had been, of what had been done by a *Parliament*; and what follow’d upon it, I need not urge in it. I hope it will seem good to you, that *Council* may be assign’d; for it concerns all my countrymen.’

THERE are some circumstances attending the conduct of Sir *Robert Tichborne*’s family, respecting the baptism of his grandchildren, which may give some ground to suspect that Sir *Robert* was a Baptist, tho’ I do not find it recorded in any books I have perus’d. However it appears, that he was a man of strict piety, an excellent

Sir Rob.
Tich-
borne.

lent magistrate, and one that aim'd at the publick good.

IN his book intituled, a *Cluster of Canaan's Grapes*, licensed by Mr. *Joseph Caryll*, and printed in the year 1649, when he is proving, that love to all saints shews union with Christ; it plainly appears that he was against the *Presbyterian* establishment. For he thus expresses himself :

P. 11.

‘ If the world, like itself, be froward to us, we can soon be sensible and
 ‘ complain of it; when at the same time
 ‘ we, *altogether unlike saints*, are froward,
 ‘ and become thorns in the sides of our
 ‘ brethren; and can sooner say, ’tis impossible to be otherwise, than complain
 ‘ of our base hearts. And, says he, with
 ‘ an index in the margin, *I may justly*
 ‘ *fear, that many a soul, which but few*
 ‘ *years since would creep into corners with*
 ‘ *other saints, to complain to God of the*
 ‘ *injustice and unkindness of the world to*
 ‘ *them; yet now their feet have been out*
 ‘ *of the stocks, are become the first that*
 ‘ *lift up their hands against their brethren.*’ And further adds, ‘ Persecu-
 ‘ tion is such a foreigner to heaven, that
 ‘ I may safely say, whatever brings it in-
 ‘ to a person or a nation never came from
 ‘ God; and it will beget a pale counte-
 ‘ nance at the day of death, when con-
 ‘ science shall witness, that saints have
 ‘ done

‘ done that to saints, which they judg’d
 ‘ unjust from the world to them.’

WHETHER Sir *Robert* was a *Baptist* or not, my long and intimate acquaintance with the family, and the respect I bear to them, having been both an eye and ear witness of some insults on them upon his account, will not permit me to pass him, without some further notice.

WHEN he was before his judges, he declared, it was his unhappiness to be called to so sad a work, and that he could say with a clear conscience, he had no more enmity in his heart to his Majesty, than he had to his wife that lay in his bosom; and so pleaded *guilty* to his indictment. The council replied thus;

‘ We shall give no evidence against the
 ‘ prisoner; he says he did it ignorantly:
 ‘ and I hope and do believe he is peni-
 ‘ tent; and as far as the Parliament thinks
 ‘ fit to shew mercy, I shall be very glad.’

*Trial of
 the regi-
 cides,
 p. 293.*

IT is recorded of him by the author *His paren-
 of his case*, that he was of an honest and *tage*
 genteel parentage in the city of *London*; a
 linnendraper, anciently descended from a
 worshipful family, well esteem’d and ho-
 noured, no picque, blemish, or stain upon
 them, his growth and education advancing
 him alike, to be soon a man, which put
 him very early into action. He soon
 became *Captain* over a foot company in
 the trained-bands. This he discharged
 abroad

abroad with valour and discretion; and at home with courtesy, his enemies bearing him witness. During the war he ascended the several steps of military honours in order; made *Colonel* of a regiment, and for a time *Lieutenant* of the tower; not taxed by them whom he served with any baseness or deficiency.

Made Sheriff of
London.
p. 7.

HE was made *Sheriff* of *London* in the year 1650. And, says the author of his case, ‘During his session and continuance in the court of *Aldermen*, betwixt his *shreivalty* and *maioralty*, he performed the office of a good citizen, to common justice. Many can bear him witness of much uprightness and integrity manifested by him in private businesses, the decision whereof being referred to committees of *aldermen* (of which very seldom, but he was one, thro’ the sense that court had of his abilities) he always justly and impartially accommodated; and envy her self cannot speak less, but gratitude — would speak more.

Lord
Mayor.

‘WE will take a full view of him in this his next dignity, the supreme magistracy of the city, as *Lord-maior* of *London*. And we use to say, *magistratus indicat virum*; but here, *vir indicat magistratum*; very few persons that arrived at this honour, after a full ripeness of years, and digestion of a long
‘ obser-

' observation of custom and manners, go-
 ' verned the *city* better, nor revived
 ' more wholesome laws, and reduced
 ' things methodically to their first state;
 ' the severest punisher of fraud and in-
 ' justice, a most rigid exactor of all dues
 ' and rights belonging to the *city*; keep-
 ' ing a constant inquisition of all the
 ' abuses and trespasses committed or suf-
 ' fered on its privileges; neither favour
 ' nor affection, as we use to say, making
 ' him to connive at such unlawful prac-
 ' tices.'

HE was not against the restoration of
 the King; but stood still, and engaged
 in no new designs, counsels, or practices,
 to withstand that blessed work, but with
 all submission and patience expected the
 results of providence. There were few
 of that temper and moderation in that
 critical juncture of time, who yet were
 in less danger than himself; which after-
 wards amounted to a confidence of sur-
 rendering himself, according to the pro-
 clamations, and putting himself within the
 danger of the law.

*Surren-
 ders him-
 self.*

WHAT he did as a member of the
committee of safety, was rather of neces-
 sity than choice. And doubtless had he
 had that state insight, he might have
 taken hold on occasion's foretop, and re-
 deemed himself by some signal seasonable
 demon-

demonstration of *loyalty*, as well as others in the same predicament.

p. 11.

‘ How he behaved himself, saith the
 ‘ author of *his case*, as to his imprison-
 ‘ ment in that place where he once com-
 ‘ manded, with all humility and fair car-
 ‘ riage, the noble Sir *John Robinson*, and
 ‘ his *warders* and *officers*, will give him
 ‘ a sufficient and good character. At that
 ‘ late strange, and rebellious insurrection
 ‘ in the *city* by the *Fifth Monarchists*, he
 ‘ professed an utter detestation thereof,
 ‘ and not so much for the butchery and
 ‘ murder committed, as that the peace
 ‘ of the kingdom was thereby endan-
 ‘ gered, by such a riotous wicked attempt.
 ‘ The danger and scandal brought by it
 ‘ on him and his fellow-sufferers, to the
 ‘ acceleration of their ends, he weighed
 ‘ not so much; being resolved either liv-
 ‘ ing or dying to pray for the prosperity
 ‘ of the King’s government.

‘ HE hath continued ever since his first
 ‘ restraint a most strict, austere, and mor-
 ‘ tified life, without any grudgings or re-
 ‘ pinings at these his sad dispensations;
 ‘ bearing with an even mind the loss of
 ‘ a considerable estate, besides sundry dis-
 ‘ comforts in his near relations grieving
 ‘ excessively at his condition. And a
 ‘ deeper wound can hardly be given to a
 ‘ man in misery: so falls it out in the
 ‘ extreams of sorrow, that even our friends
 ‘ invo-

‘ involuntarily shall contribute to the load
‘ of it.’

IN the many volumes I have perused, I do not find many *English Baptists* acting in high *magistratical stations*. But when it has so happened, they have appeared to be men of strict justice, great humility, and such as aimed at the publick good, not enriching themselves by the benefits of their *high stations*. It is observed of this great and good gentleman, that notwithstanding the several rich *places* and *offices* he went through during the *usurpation*, his wealth did not answer the sum requir’d to a *Lord-Mayor’s* estate; and that his constant affability, and humility, was sufficient to convince all men that he was not arrogant.

THE King publish’d a proclamation concerning Religion, containing eight articles; most of which prescribed certain rules to the Bishops, in the exercise of their spiritual jurisdiction. The two last deserve a particular notice, because they discover, that the Dissenters were not like to continue long undisturb’d.

A proclamation concerning religion.

‘ THE seventh ran, says *Rapin* *, that
‘ a certain number of Divines should be
‘ appointed to revise the Liturgy, and
‘ make such alterations in it, as should
‘ be judg’d necessary; and that *scrupu-*

* Vol. II. p. 261.

‘ *lous persons* should not be punish’d or
 ‘ troubled for not using it, at present.’

‘ THE eighth was, concerning *cere-*
 ‘ *monies*; to which for the present, no
 ‘ person should be oblig’d to conform.’

ABOUT this time was publish’d by the
General Baptists, a brief confession or de-
 claration of faith, subscrib’d by certain
 Elders, Deacons, and Brethren met at
London, in behalf of themselves and many
 others unto whom they belong, in *Lon-*
don and in several counties of this nation,
 who were of the same faith with them.

IT was presented to, and approv’d of
 by his Majesty: And the same was re-
 printed at *London*, in the year 1691, with
 the addition of some names thereunto. I
 have plac’d it in the *Appendix*, N^o IV.

THE great encrease of the *Baptists*,
 stirr’d up their enemies to reproach and
 villify them, and to render them odious
 to the government. They are generally
 charg’d, as a people whose principles
 tended to the destruction of the civil
 power: But I do not find, that their e-
 nemies were ever able to produce any
 thing upon which they could justly found
 such a charge. Indeed, I have receiv’d
 from the Rev^d. Mr. *Calamy*, a declara-
 tion sign’d but by three persons, who a-
 pologize for their paucity, and are very
 zealous against *bearing of arms*, and *taking*
an oath, and seem to be not pleas’d with
 their

their brethren, for not being of their judgments in these points. They are so far from opposing magistracy, that if the greatest zealots for *passive obedience* and *non-resistance*, had been of their judgment, King *James II.* might quietly have kept his throne, and impos'd what religion and laws he had pleas'd upon these kingdoms. I have plac'd their declaration in the *Appendix*, N^o V.

ON the 26th of *July* 1660, was presented to the King a petition, with a narrative and complaint, and the confession of faith of sundry honest and well-dispos'd *Baptists*; the messengers whereof, by the assistance of an honourable Member of Parliament, were procur'd to deliver the same into his Majesty's own hand; to which he was pleas'd to return a most gracious answer. Part of this narration and complaint, which may suffice to shew the innocency of the complainants, and the cruelty of their persecutors, is recorded by Mr. *Jessy*, and is as followeth:

*The Lord's
loud Call
to Eng-
land, p.
15.*

May it please you, &c.

‘ **B** E I N G commanded thereto by
 ‘ the Lord, we have met often to-
 ‘ gether, to acquaint each other, what
 ‘ God hath done, doth daily, and will do
 ‘ for our souls, and what therefore, we
 C 2 ought

‘ ought to do towards him, each other,
‘ and all men.

‘ FROM which assemblings, O King!
‘ we have been discharg’d by some in
‘ magistratical capacity in these parts; al-
‘ though therein, we bless God, none
‘ hath ever found us with multitude or
‘ with tumult. But being taught of God
‘ to obey him in the things by him com-
‘ manded, rather than man, though in
‘ the place of magistracy, when com-
‘ manding things contrary; we therefore
‘ durst not receive that discharge. Where-
‘ fore some of us have been silenc’d from
‘ making mention of the name of the
‘ Lord, as formerly, by being intangled
‘ in bonds, pretendedly impos’d upon us
‘ for this good behaviour. To which in
‘ our innocency we readily yielded; be-
‘ ing bound to the good behaviour in
‘ conscience, we fear’d not to be bound
‘ thereto by law. But such is the sad
‘ estate of this generation, that *they call*
‘ *good evil, and evil good*; with sorrow
‘ we speak it; taking their advantage a-
‘ gainst us, in our serving the Lord. Up-
‘ on account of the condition of these obli-
‘ gations, accounting us, O King! peace-
‘ breakers, when in the sincerity of our
‘ hearts, and innocency of our souls, we
‘ peaceably meet to worship our God in his
‘ fear, we affirm it. Since thus entangl’d,
‘ O King! we have been much abus’d as
‘ we

‘ we pass in the streets, and as we sit in
 ‘ our houses; being threatned to be
 ‘ hang’d, if but heard praying to the
 ‘ Lord in our families, and disturb’d in
 ‘ our so waiting upon God, by uncivil
 ‘ beating at our doors, and sounding of
 ‘ horns; yea, we have been ston’d, when
 ‘ going to our meetings, the windows of
 ‘ the place where we have been met,
 ‘ struck down with stones, yea, taken
 ‘ as evil-doers, and imprison’d, when
 ‘ peaceably met together to worship the
 ‘ Most High, in the use of his most pre-
 ‘ cious ordinances. We have, O King!
 ‘ spread these things before them in au-
 ‘ thority in these parts, but can have no Lincoln-
 ‘ redress from them; but the rage of our shire.
 ‘ adversaries hath been augmented, by
 ‘ hearing us abus’d by some of them in
 ‘ open court, who sat on the bench of
 ‘ justice, under the odious terms of *kna-*
 ‘ *vish, juggling, impudent, and phanatick*
 ‘ *fellows, &c.* And as if all this were too
 ‘ little, they have, to fill up their mea-
 ‘ sure, very lately indicted many of us at
 ‘ the *Sessions*; and intend, as we are in-
 ‘ form’d, to impose on us the penalty of
 ‘ *twenty pounds per month*, for not com-
 ‘ ing to hear such men, as they provide
 ‘ us, of whose principles and practices,
 ‘ we could give a most sad and doleful, yet,
 ‘ O King! a most true relation, &c.’

THIS was sign'd by thirty five men,
in the behalf of many others.

THE substance of the King's answer to the messengers, that were sent with this narration and petition was this: ' That
' it was not his mind, that any of his
' good subjects who liv'd peaceably,
' should suffer any trouble upon the ac-
' count of their judgments, or opinions
' in point of religion; and that he had
' declar'd the same in several declarations.
' He promised us also, say they, upon
' our declaring our grievances, that he
' would have particular care over us, that
' none should trouble us upon the account
' of our consciences in things pertaining to
' religion. And while we were present
' before him, he order'd an honourable
' Member of Parliament to go to the Lord
' Chancellor and Secretary, and get some-
' thing done to that purpose. The
' Member of Parliament promis'd he
' would do as the King had order'd him.'

*The peti-
tion and
representa-
tion of the
Baptists in
Maidstone
goal.* IN this year also was publish'd, *The
humble petition and representation of the
sufferings of several peaceable and innocent
subjects, call'd by the name of Anabaptists,
inhabitants of the county of Kent, and
prisoners in the goal of Maidstone, for
the testimony of a good conscience; and was
as followeth:*

To

‘ *To his Majesty Charles II. King of Eng-*
‘ *land, Scotland, France and Ireland,*
‘ *and the Dominions thereunto belonging.*

‘ *May it please your Majesty,*

‘ **F**ORASMUCH as by authority
‘ deriv’d from yourself, several of
‘ us your subjects, inhabitants in the coun-
‘ ty of *Kent*, are now imprison’d; it
‘ therefore much concerns thee, O King!
‘ to hear what account we give of our
‘ present distress’d condition. Thou hast
‘ already seen our *Confession of Faith*,
‘ wherein our peaceable resolutions were
‘ declar’d. We have not violated any
‘ part thereof, that should cause that *li-*
‘ *berty* promis’d from *Breda* to be with-
‘ drawn. And now for our principles,
‘ that most particularly relate to magis-
‘ trates and government, we have with
‘ all clearness laid them before thee;
‘ humbly beseeching they may be read
‘ patiently, and what we say weigh’d in
‘ the ballance of the sanctuary; and then
‘ judge how worthy we are either of
‘ bonds or imprisonment. And this we
‘ the more earnestly desire, because not
‘ only our own lives are in danger, but
‘ also an irresistible destruction cometh on
‘ our wives and little ones, by that vio-

' lence which is now exercis'd on us. Dis-
 ' dain not our plainness of speaking, see-
 ' ing the great God accepts of the like.
 ' And now, O King! that all thy pro-
 ' ceedings, both towards us and all men,
 ' may be such as may be pleasing unto
 ' the Eternal God, in whose hands your,
 ' and our breath is, who e'er long will
 ' judge both quick and dead, according
 ' to their works, is the prayers of thy
 ' faithful subjects and servants,

' The prisoners in the goal of
 ' *Maidstone*, for the testimo-
 ' ny of a good conscience.'

THEN follows, their free and faithful
 acknowledgment of the King's authority
 and dignity in civil things, over all man-
 ner of persons ecclesiastical and civil,
 within his Majesty's dominions. Where-
 in they thus complain: ' We, thy impri-
 ' son'd subjects, have some of us, had our
 ' houses broken open in the dead of the
 ' night, without producing any authori-
 ' ty from thee, or any inferior minister
 ' under thee; our goods and cattle taken
 ' away from some others, and yet detain-
 ' ed from us; our bodies, some taken
 ' from our own dwellings, and others from
 ' our peaceable meetings, and made pri-
 ' soners; and this done unto many of us,
 ' some

‘ some days before thy proclamation was
 ‘ publish’d: which proceedings doth bring
 ‘ great distress and ruin to ourselves and
 ‘ families.’

THEN follows their reasons for meriting the King’s protection, in their spiritual and civil rights, equal with other his Majesty’s obedient subjects. After which they say : ‘ From all that we have P. 13.
 ‘ said, Thou, O King ! mayst see, that
 ‘ not without grounds do we deny the
 ‘ taking the oath of thy supremacy, which
 ‘ calls for obedience, as well in spiritual
 ‘ and ecclesiastical things and causes, as
 ‘ temporal ; not but that we can freely
 ‘ acknowledge thee to be supreme governor of all persons, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, but still in temporal causes and things.’

THEY conclude thus : ‘ And now have P. 15.
 ‘ ing faithfully laid our condition and principles, so far as they relate to *magistrates*
 ‘ or *government*, before thee. We therefore beseech thee, O King ! that liberty
 ‘ may be given us to worship our God ;
 ‘ and such bowels of compassion be in
 ‘ thee, as to give us such speedy relief,
 ‘ as may be agreeable to the mind of
 ‘ God,’ *Which made heaven and earth, Psa. cxlvi.*
 ‘ *which executed judgment for the oppressed,*
 ‘ *which giveth food to the hungry : the*
 ‘ *Lord looseth the prisoners.*’

SIGNED

SIGNED by us in the name of the *Baptists*, now *prisoners* in the goal at *Maidstone*.

William Jeffery.

George Hammon.

John Reve.

James Blackmore.

*Vavasor
Powel im-
prison'd.*

*Lord's
loud Call,
p. 13.*

IN this year Mr. *Vavasor Powel*, a famous *Baptist* Minister, well known to be an able and painful Preacher of the Gospel, in a great part of *North* and *South-Wales*, ' Was, says Mr. *Jessy*, seiz'd upon, and imprison'd in *Shrewsbury*, ' and many of his friends in several *Northern* counties in *Wales*; and not for ' any crime committed by him or them; ' yea, and divers of their houses plunder'd by soldiers, shewing no warrant ' for their proceedings therein.'

*Jenkin
Jones and
others im-
prison'd.*

*Lord's
loud Call,
p. 14.*

ALSO in *South-Wales*, Mr. *Jenkin Jones*, another *Baptist* Minister, with some of the congregation, were imprison'd; as appears by a letter wrote to Mr. *Jessy*, June 29, 1660, from Mr. *Tho. Guin*, who had been a Gentleman Cavalier in *Wales*, but was converted under the ministry of the said Mr. *Jones*, and became a member of his Church, and a sufferer with him for the truth of the Gospel. Part of this letter Mr. *Jessy* publish'd, And is as followeth:

' SOME

‘ SOME of our brethren were for a
 ‘ month’s space imprison’d in *Caermar-*
 ‘ *then*, merely because they would not
 ‘ forego their meetings, and join with
 ‘ them again in their traditional worship,
 ‘ from whom the Lord had separated
 ‘ them. They bore their testimony so
 ‘ full, and their sufferings so patiently
 ‘ and chearfully, that we have much
 ‘ cause to bless the Lord for his gracious
 ‘ and tender dealings towards them. Their
 ‘ conversation was such, that made those
 ‘ that threw stones at them, and shouted
 ‘ when they were brought thither, part
 ‘ with them with tears, confessing they
 ‘ suffer’d for *well-doing*, and judg’d them
 ‘ happy therein. I suppose the Lord was
 ‘ more glorified by them, in those suffer-
 ‘ ings, than by any one thing, which
 ‘ happen’d since I came to understand
 ‘ any thing of his particular dealings
 ‘ with his people. They had his pro-
 ‘ mises in an ample manner fulfill’d un-
 ‘ to them, and his presence very fre-
 ‘ quent, glorious and powerful. This
 ‘ tended much to the strengthening of
 ‘ others, to endure the like trials, if call’d
 ‘ unto it by the wise Disposer of all
 ‘ things.’

GREAT were the sufferings of the *The suf-*
Baptists in Gloucestershire. The most e- *ferings of*
 minent Cavaliers, imbitter’d persecutors, *the Bap-*
 rode about arm’d with swords and pistols; *tists in*
 Gloucester- *shire.*
 ran-

ransack'd their houses, and abus'd their families in a violent manner. Mr. *Jessey* has publish'd part of many letters sent to him, setting forth the hard usage, and great persecutions that beset the people of God in that county; more particularly those of the *Baptist* persuasion; as will appear by a letter from the house of a godly strict *Presbyterian*: Which says;

*Lord's loud
Call, p.
21.*

‘ That they of that family, as others
‘ fearing the Lord, were as a beacon on
‘ a hill, and under great reproach, ac-
‘ counted not worthy to live, and count-
‘ ed as *Elias* was by *Abab*, troublers of
‘ *Israel*, troublers of the place they liv'd
‘ in, with other such like aspersions,
‘ counting them *Anabaptists* and *Quakers*,
‘ and were in fear of being plunder'd
‘ therefore.’

*The houses
of several
persons
ransack'd.*

IN a letter wrote to Mr. *Jessey*, April 3, 1660. it is said, that the houses of Captain *Crofts*, Mr. *Palmer* of *Borton*, Mr. *Helme* of *Winchcombe*, and many o-

Ib. p. 17.

thers, were ransack'd for arms. ‘ It so
‘ fell out, says the writer of the letter,
‘ that Mr. *Helme* not being at home, on
‘ the 6th day of the last week, they came
‘ to his house, ransacked his trunks, study,
‘ and all his goods, for arms, not spar-
‘ ing the bed whereon his children lay,
‘ to their great affrightment, being in bed.
‘ One of them held up his pistol to strike
‘ Mrs. *Helme*, having given her most un-

civil

‘ civil language ; so that the terrour hath
 ‘ brought upon her a very sore distem-
 ‘ per, and brought her nigh unto death.
 ‘ They drink the King’s health stoutly,
 ‘ and rage against any that have the face
 ‘ of godliness ; and not only soldiers, but
 ‘ the people who had long obscured their
 ‘ malice to the people of God, are now
 ‘ confident, and act barbarously. Take
 ‘ two late examples. One was of Mr. *War-* *Mr. War-*
 ‘ *Warren*, a minister in the county, who *ren perse-*
 ‘ upon the ejection of a malignant (as *cuted to*
 ‘ then that denomination was given men) *death.*
 ‘ was put into the parsonage of *Rencome* ;
 ‘ upon this new encouragement, the said
 ‘ ejected minister (one Mr. *Broade*) brake
 ‘ in with a company of rude companions
 ‘ into the parsonage house, penned up
 ‘ Mr. *Warren*, and his wife and family
 ‘ into an upper room ; so distressing and
 ‘ afflicting the poor man, night and day,
 ‘ making a noise with hautboys, so that
 ‘ he died in the place. His blood will
 ‘ cry. Another was one Mr. *Fletcher*, a *Mr. Flet-*
 ‘ godly man, who lately came out of *New-* *cher and*
 ‘ *England*, being put into a vacant place *his fami-*
 ‘ by authority, a rude cavalier in the pa- *ly forced*
 ‘ rish came in upon him in his house, *to fly for*
 ‘ beat him and used him very inhumanly, *their lives.*
 ‘ threatned to cut off his head with a bill,
 ‘ which one of them carried ; at last, af-
 ‘ ter much vile carriage, one took his
 ‘ coat and carpet off his table, and marched
 ‘ with

‘ with them in the streets on the top of
 ‘ a bill, so that the poor man and his
 ‘ family are fled for their lives.

*Lord's loud
 Call, p.
 19.*

IN another letter of *April* 19. it is
 said, ‘ Since my last letter, the perse-
 ‘ cution in these parts breaks out more
 ‘ and more. Last week there was a godly
 ‘ minister sorely injured, as he was en-
 ‘ tring the pulpit to preach; and the
 ‘ same week, another was violently pulled
 ‘ out of his house, his wife, and children
 ‘ and goods, thrown into the street by
 ‘ the rude multitude; none of the parish
 ‘ daring to give them entertainment; the
 ‘ former ejected notorious person, getting
 ‘ again into possession, where he trium-
 ‘ phantly abides without controul, and
 ‘ some rudely haling the poor minister
 ‘ thus abused to the *goal*, as they said
 ‘ they would.’

*Mr. Finch
 abused and
 imprison-
 ed.*

THERE are part of several other let-
 ters published in the same treatise, con-
 firming the aforesaid account of the suf-
 ferings of these people in *Glocestershire*.
 To which I refer the reader for his fuller
 satisfaction: and shall take notice, of some
 notable rebukes to the enemies of these
 poor persecuted people, recorded by the
 said Mr. *Jessey*.

*Some re-
 markable
 rebukes on
 persecu-
 tors.*

*Lord's loud
 Call, p.
 29.*

ON the day of the King's proclama-
 tion at *Waltham* near *Theobalds*, in the
 evening there was a bonfire made to ex-
 press

press the people's joy. A cooper who was present, ' swore and tore, and struck the ground, and said, now have at the *Anabaptists*. Now as the fire burned he took a faggot, and said, here is a round head, and cast it into the fire which burn'd; and then took another faggot, and said, here is an *Anabaptist*, and that burn'd, &c. But the Lord struck him that night, so that he never saw the morning. Attested by several of the same town.

On a cooper.

' MR. O—— a minister, in his sermon using many hard speeches against those peaceable people there, that he call'd *Anabaptists*, there being many such there at that time: Even whilst he was preaching in that manner, fell into a swoon, and was speechless, as one dead for about two hours, and it was fear'd he would never have recovered out of it. At a meeting (at *Brokington* in *Glostershire*, June 3, 1660,) were many met; *B. Collet* and *B. Collings*, gifted brethren, from *Burton* on the water, and divers others thence, and from *Stow*, and other places. It was rumour'd about that some of the county troop would then come and seize upon them, and imprison some and rout them all. The *Clerk's* daughter came with her mother, who had oppos'd and revil'd them, uttering hard speeches against

On Mr. O--- a minister.

Lord's loud Call, p. 8.

ib. p. 3:

On the Clerk's daughter at Brokington.

' gainst them, and their meetings, and
 ' ways; and these two stood by in a
 ' corner. When they came, *B. Collet*
 ' was speaking upon *Jude 14 and 15*
 ' verses, with much affection, upon these
 ' words, *Behold the Lord cometh, with ten*
 ' *thousand of his saints to execute judgment*
 ' *upon all, and to convince all that are un-*
 ' *godly amongst them, of all their ungod-*
 ' *ly deeds, which they have ungodly com-*
 ' *mitted, and of all their hard speeches,*
 ' *which ungodly sinners have spoken against*
 ' *him.* Whilst he was preaching upon
 ' these words, the hand of the Lord of
 ' Hosts went out against that daughter,
 ' as it appear'd; for she gave a sudden
 ' great shriek, and fell down dead before
 ' them all. Those that were about her
 ' rubb'd and chaf'd her for her restoring;
 ' but there was no appearance of life at
 ' all. *B. Collet* was much affected with
 ' this hand of the Lord, and look'd pale,
 ' being of a very tender spirit. *B. Col-*
 ' *lings* seeing it, was about to seek the
 ' Lord for raising her up again; but her
 ' mother, being much out of patience, hin-
 ' der'd their prayers for her; and she ne-
 ' ver recover'd. As some were carrying
 ' her corps out, Mr. *H*—— met them,
 ' who led that party of the troop; and he
 ' came in, and would have them away
 ' prisoners; and he charg'd them with
 ' the death of the maid, that they had
 ' kill'd

‘ kill’d her. *B. Collings* answer’d to this
 ‘ effect, *Nay, we have not kill’d her ; but*
 ‘ *the Most High hath done it, in whose*
 ‘ *hand is both your breath and ours.* Af-
 ‘ ter he had pull’d the speakers towards
 ‘ the door, and spoke more to them, he
 ‘ and the soldiers left them. Since this
 ‘ time the *Clerk* hath spoke well of that
 ‘ people ; saying, *these are the people of*
 ‘ *God.*’

I SHALL add but one instance more
 from this author, of this kind ; and that
 is a flagrant one ; for the sufferings and
 hardships of the Dissenters in general,
 were made a *jest* upon the stage at *Ox-*
ford, and became the subject of their
 sport and laughter.

‘ THERE was a play acted by *scho-* *Lord’s loud*
 ‘ *lars*, wherein *one* acted the *Old Puri-* *Call, p.*
 ‘ *tan.* He that acted that part, came in *1, 2.*
 ‘ with a narrow band, short hair, and a
 ‘ broad hat ; a boisterous fellow comes *On the*
 ‘ after him, and trips up his heels, call- *players at*
 ‘ ing him *Puritan Rogue* ; at which *Oxford.*
 ‘ words, the *Old Puritan* shook off the
 ‘ dirt of his feet against him. Two of
 ‘ these actors were also cut off, and he
 ‘ that acted the *Old Puritan* broke a vein,
 ‘ and vomited so much blood in the
 ‘ place, that they thought he would have
 ‘ died in the room ; but he now lieth de-
 ‘ parately sick. This is all very true. Al-

‘ fo a woman, that join’d with them in
 ‘ their play, is dead.

Venner’s
 rebellion.

‘ THE year 1661, fays *Rapin* *, was
 ‘ usher’d in by an extraordinary event.
 ‘ The 6th of *January*, while the King
 ‘ was attending the Queen-mother, and
 ‘ the Princess his fister to *Dover*, in their
 ‘ return to *France*; about fifty of these
 ‘ men (fifth-monarchy-men) under the
 ‘ conduct of one *Thomas Venner*, affembled
 ‘ in the evening in *St. Paul’s* church-yard,
 ‘ and kill’d a man, who upon demand,
 ‘ had answer’d, *for God and the King*.
 ‘ This giving an alarm to the *city*, some
 ‘ train’d-bands were fent againft them,
 ‘ whom these men quickly routed; and
 ‘ then march’d through feveral ftreets, and
 ‘ at laft retir’d to *Cane-wood*, betwixt
 ‘ *Highbgate* and *Hampstead*; from whence
 ‘ a party of horfe and foot, fent by General
 ‘ *Monk*, diflodg’d them, and took fome
 ‘ prifoners. But this did not prevent the
 ‘ reft from returning to the *city*, where
 ‘ they fought furiously, till they were
 ‘ oblig’d to take fanctuary in an houfe.
 ‘ They there defended themfelves like
 ‘ men fearless of death, or rather, as fe-
 ‘ cure from all danger, under the protec-
 ‘ tion of *Jefus Chrift*. Here it was that
 ‘ *Venner* being wounded, and twenty of
 ‘ his men kill’d, with as many of the af-
 ‘ failants, was taken with the reft of his

* Vol. II. p. 623.

‘ fellows. A few days after they were
 ‘ all tried, condemn’d and executed, with-
 ‘ out any confession of guilt, and persist-
 ‘ ing in their extravagancies to the last ;
 ‘ two young men only shew’d some signs
 ‘ of repentance.’

THE King took occasion from this in-
 surrection to publish a proclamation, for-
 bidding all *meetings* and *conventicles* under
 pretence of religion, and commanding the
 oath of *allegiance* and *supremacy* to be ten-
 dred to all persons disaffected to the go-
 vernment, and in case of refusal, they
 were to be prosecuted on the statute of
 the 7th of *James I.*

*A procla-
 mation a-
 gainst
 meetings.*

THE *English Baptists* presently after
 this insurrection, publish’d two *Apologies*,
 wherein they protested both against the
 principles and practices of that rebellious
 party, and are as followeth :

*The humble Apology of some commonly
 call’d Anabaptists, in behalf of them-
 selves, and others of the same judgment
 with them ; with their protestation a-
 gainst the late wicked, and most horrid
 treasonable insurrection and rebellion,
 acted in the city of London ; together
 with an Apology, formerly presented to
 the King’s most Excellent Majesty.*

*Apology of
 the Eng-
 lish Bap-
 tists.*

*Printed at
 London in
 the year
 1660.*

‘ WE should be stupid and sense-
 ‘ less, if we did not deeply re-

‘ sent those black obloquies and reproaches cast upon those of our profession and practice in the point of Baptism, by occasion of the late most horrid treason and rebellion in this *city* of *London*.

‘ WE most sadly see, and feel, that among many it is become enough to render any man criminal to be call’d an *Anabaptist*; or at least a ground sufficient, to question his loyalty and fidelity to the King’s Majesty.

‘ WE may not therefore be so negligent of our duty unto God, in respect of our profession, or unto ourselves and families, as silently to suffer our names and profession, to be buried under such causeless infamy; neither may we be so much wanting of our duty to our King, as by such sullen silence, to offer his Majesty just occasion of being jealous, and suspicious of our loyalty and obedience, or to leave him without all possible, rational security, of our humble subjection and fidelity to him.

‘ WE acknowledge, that the histories of *Germany* relate most dreadful things, of the impious opinions and practices of some reputed *Anabaptists*, destructive to all government and human society. Altho’ it is to be observ’d, what *Cassander*,

‘ a learn’d and moderate *Papist*, relates in
‘ his epistle to the Duke of *Gulick* and
‘ *Cleve*, to this purpose, That there were
‘ certain people in *Germany* bearing the
‘ denomination of *Anabaptists*, who resist-
‘ ed and oppos’d the opinions and prac-
‘ tices of those at *Munster*, and taught
‘ the contrary doctrine, whereby in his
‘ opinion they appear’d to be incited by a
‘ godly mind, and render’d themselves ra-
‘ ther worthy of pity, than persecution
‘ and perdition; and that in *Holland*,
‘ those who have succeeded them, do in
‘ doctrine and practice, adhere to the
‘ same peaceable principles, is publicly
‘ known. But the misguided zeal of
‘ some, otherwise minded in the point of
‘ *Baptism*, hath frequently, tho’ undu-
‘ ly imputed the like impious opinions,
‘ designs and intentions, unto all that are
‘ call’d by that name; altho’ their souls
‘ abhor the very memory of such impi-
‘ ous doctrines, and their bloody conse-
‘ quences. That such evil opinions and
‘ practices, are no natural or necessary
‘ concomitants or consequences of the
‘ doctrine about *Baptism*, nor of any pos-
‘ sible connexion with it, is easy to be
‘ discern’d; yet by the like mistake we
‘ now suffer under jealousies, thro’ the
‘ wicked treason, rebellion, and murder,
‘ of a few heady and distemper’d persons,

‘ pretending to introduce a civil and tem-
 ‘ poral reign and government of *Jesus*
 ‘ *Christ* by their swords, and to subvert
 ‘ all civil government and authority.

‘ YET we cannot imagine a reason
 ‘ why, their bloody tenets, and tragical
 ‘ actings, should reflect upon those of our
 ‘ persuasion, the persons not being of our
 ‘ belief or practice about *Baptism*; but to
 ‘ the best of our information, they were
 ‘ all, except one, assertors of *Infant-Bap-*
 ‘ *tism*, and never had communion with
 ‘ us in our assemblies, nor hath there
 ‘ been any correspondence or converse be-
 ‘ tween us; but contrariwise, in their
 ‘ meetings, they have inveigh’d bitterly
 ‘ against us, as worshippers of the beast,
 ‘ because of our constant declaring against
 ‘ their conceited, wild interpretations of
 ‘ dark prophecies, and enthusiastical im-
 ‘ pulses; and profess’d and practis’d our
 ‘ duty of subjection to the civil magif-
 ‘ tracy.

‘ AND it is notoriously known, the very
 ‘ same *persons*, or at least the *leaders*, and
 ‘ the most of them, formerly advanc’d
 ‘ their pretended standard of *Jesus Christ*,
 ‘ as much against us, as against any o-
 ‘ thers.

‘ AND it is as publickly known, that e-
 ‘ ven in this their rebellion, such of us
 ‘ as were call’d thereunto, which were
 ‘ many,

‘ many, were ready to hazard our lives
 ‘ to suppress them.

‘ AND if such a constant continu’d op-
 ‘ position unto the impious tenets and
 ‘ practices of these *persons*, both in our
 ‘ doctrines and lives, will not be esteem’d
 ‘ a pregnant and cogent evidence of our
 ‘ unspotted innocence, from their treason
 ‘ and rebellion, and satisfy every man,
 ‘ that our souls never enter’d into their
 ‘ secrets; we can only appeal to the All-
 ‘ seeing God, the judge of all the earth,
 ‘ to vindicate us in his righteous judg-
 ‘ ment, who we are assur’d will judge Gen.
 ‘ and do right. xviii. 25.

‘ IN whose presence we protest, that
 ‘ we neither had the least foreknowledge
 ‘ of the said late treasonable *insurrection*,
 ‘ nor did any of us, in any kind or degree
 ‘ whatsoever, directly or indirectly con-
 ‘ trive, promote, assist, abet, or approve
 ‘ the same; but do esteem it our duty to
 ‘ God, to his Majesty, and to our neigh-
 ‘ bour, not only to be obedient; but al-
 ‘ so to use our utmost industry, to pre-
 ‘ vent all such treasons, murders, and re-
 ‘ bellions; and to use in all our assemblies,
 ‘ constant prayers and supplications for
 ‘ his Majesty.

‘ WHEREFORE we humbly beseech
 ‘ his Majesty, and desire all our fellow
 ‘ subjects, that our actions, doctrines and
 ‘ lives, may be the only glasses, thro’

' which they will look into our hearts,
 ' and pass judgment upon us; and that
 ' the tenets or opinions of others, either
 ' in this or foreign kingdoms, 'may not be
 ' imputed to us, when our doctrines and
 ' lives, do declare our abhorrency of them :
 ' We believing, that *Jesus Christ* himself,
 ' his *Apostles*, and Christian Religion, did
 ' consist with, and obey the imperial go-
 ' vernment, that then was in the world,
 ' and that we ought to obey his Majesty
 ' not only for wrath, but for conscience
 ' sake.

' WE desire, therefore, that it may be
 ' considered without prejudice, whether
 ' our persuasion in the matter of *Baptism*,
 ' hath any connexion with these doctrines
 ' against government; or whether these
 ' can be the probable consequences or in-
 ' ferences from our doctrine concerning
 ' *Baptism*? And we pray that it may be
 ' seriously considered, whether it be ra-
 ' tional, just, or christian, to impute all
 ' the errors, and wickedness of any *sect*
 ' of Christians in one age or country, to
 ' the persons of another age or country,
 ' called by the name of the former? es-
 ' pecially when these errors, or impieties,
 ' gave not the name to the *sect*, as in our
 ' case, nor can be reasonably supposed to
 ' be the consequences of that opinion,
 ' from whence the *sect* had its denomi-
 ' nation.

‘ IT would not be holden just to aver,
‘ every *Protestant* to believe *Consubstan-*
‘ *tiation*, or absolute *Predestination*, and
‘ *Reprobation*, because *Luther* was zea-
‘ lous in the one, and *Calvin* in the other ;
‘ why therefore shou’d the errors and im-
‘ pieties of others, be imputed to us,
‘ whilst we earnestly contend against
‘ them ? And as to our doctrine of *Bap-*
‘ *tism*, we hope every Christian, that hath
‘ search’d the scriptures, knoweth, that
‘ there wants not so much evidence, at
‘ least for our opinion and practice, as
‘ Christian charity may well allow, tho’
‘ in some mens judgments we should be
‘ esteemed mistaken ; and it will be easily
‘ granted by the learned, that there is no
‘ impiety in our doctrine of *Baptism*, nor
‘ opposition to civil government, or his
‘ Majesty’s authority ; neither can the in-
‘ jury of our neighbour, be the natural
‘ consequence of it.

‘ AND therefore we humbly hope,
‘ that the omnipotent Power of heaven
‘ and earth, will so dispose his Majesty
‘ and his people’s hearts, that we may
‘ worship God in peace and freedom, ac-
‘ cording to the faith we have receiv’d,
‘ living a peaceable and quiet life ; in all
‘ godliness and honesty.

POST-

P O S T S C R I P T.

‘ THAT it may yet more fully appear,
 ‘ That our principles suggested in this
 ‘ apology, about subjection to magistracy
 ‘ and government, against the contrary
 ‘ opinions and practices are not new, much
 ‘ less proceeding from us upon the suc-
 ‘ cessfulness of this tragical enterprise ; we
 ‘ have thought fit herewith, to publish
 ‘ an apology of our ancient and constant
 ‘ principles, presented with our humble
 ‘ petition, to the King’s most excellent
 ‘ Majesty, some months since, in the
 ‘ year 1660.’

THIS was subscribed by thirty mi-
 nisters and principal members of
 the *Baptist* congregations.

*Another
 apology of
 the Eng-
 lish Bap-
 tists.*

‘ *An Apology of some call’d Anabaptists,*
 ‘ *in and about the city of London, in*
 ‘ *behalf of themselves and others of the*
 ‘ *same judgment with them.*

‘ FORASMUCH * as it hath been
 ‘ our portion all along to suffer not
 ‘ only some hard things in many of our

* Let the Rev^d. Mr. Neale seriously consider this pa-
 ragraph, and if his own conscience do not smite him, for
 that unfair representation of his, I think he is rather an
 object of pity than resentment.

‘ persons

‘ persons, but also very much in our re-
‘ putations, thro’ the unjust aspersions
‘ and calumnies of our adversaries, and
‘ such, who, tho’ they daily behold our
‘ inoffensive conversation, and do or may
‘ know our faith and doctrine, will not
‘ yet be deliver’d from those groundless
‘ and injurious reports, which they have
‘ without proof, concerning things or
‘ persons taken up; but contrariwise con-
‘ tinue in press, pulpit, and common
‘ discourse, industriously to divulge things
‘ tending to our defamation; and more
‘ especially for that purpose, watching
‘ the opportunity of all revolutions and
‘ changes of persons exercis’d in govern-
‘ ment, which hath often happen’d in
‘ these nations of late years. And inas-
‘ much as the design of our adversaries
‘ therein, hath appear’d to be the rendring
‘ of us obnoxious to those, that have had
‘ most power in their hand to offend and
‘ harm us, and have for that purpose,
‘ invented such calumnies, as might best
‘ accomplish that design; which altho’
‘ they have been various, and sometimes
‘ manifestly cross and contradictory one
‘ to another, yet having no other ground,
‘ that we know of, than the fore-men-
‘ tion’d evil purpose; they have there-
‘ fore, both one and the other, even all
‘ of them, been generally accompany’d
‘ with

‘ with the charge of disobedience to magistracy and civil government. ’

‘ WE have therefore been necessitated, as alterations in government have hap- pen’d, to renew our vindications in this publick manner, having very seldom opportunity, otherwise to inform either magistrates or people of the injuries done unto us, and which is much more, to the truth we do profess. And that in this present conjuncture of affairs, the misrepresentation of us either formerly or now, may not take impressi- on upon any, to the damage of us and our profession, we have thought it requisite not to bring to light any new matter ; but only to extract out of our former confessions of faith and declarations, our constant principles, to which we have been, and shall always endeavour, the Lord assisting us, that our practice may still be conformable in this great point, concerning magistracy and civil government, as by these extracts following may appear.

‘ THAT civil * *magistracy* is an ordinance of God, set up by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well ; and that in all

* Confession of faith of those churches in London, which are commonly, tho’ unjustly, call’d *Anabaptists*, Art. 47. Printed in the several years 1651, 1646, 1644, &c.

' lawful things commanded by them, sub-
 ' jection ought to be given by us in the
 ' Lord, not only for wrath but for con-
 ' science sake, and that we are to make
 ' supplications and prayers for *Kings*, and
 ' all that are in *authority*, that under
 ' them we may live a peaceable, a quiet
 ' life, in all godliness and honesty.

' WE who are falsely call'd *Anabap-*
 ' *tists* *, being as ready to obey our civil
 ' *magistrates*, as to profess our subjection
 ' to them in all lawful commands; what-
 ' ever is preach'd or printed of us, by any
 ' to the contrary, and whosoever have
 ' or shall accuse us, either to the *magis-*
 ' *trates*, or to the common people, that we
 ' will not obey *authority* do falsely ac-
 ' cuse us.

' AND however † it be a thing very
 ' desirable to godly men, to have such
 ' to be their *governors* as fear the Lord,
 ' inasmuch, as together with their moral
 ' principles, they are under more solemn
 ' bands of engagement as christians, to
 ' execute judgment and justice, and faith-
 ' fully to discharge their trust, and in-
 ' asmuch also, as they will be more rea-
 ' dy to protect godly men, which gene-

* Declaration concerning a publick dispute. Printed in the year 1645, p. 4.

† Declaration by the severall congregational societies in and about the city of *London*, in way of vindication of themselves, touching liberty, magistracy, &c. Printed 1647, p. 7. Sect. 3, & 4.

‘ rally are the hated of the world, and to
 ‘ propagate the Gospel in their territories,
 ‘ than other men will be; yet whatever
 ‘ the magistrate is in point of religion,
 ‘ he is to be reverenc’d and obey’d in all
 ‘ those commands of his, which do not
 ‘ intrench upon, or rise up in opposition
 ‘ to the commands of God. And we do
 ‘ freely acknowledge, that kingly govern-
 ‘ ment establiſh’d, guided and bounded
 ‘ by juſt and wholesome laws, is both
 ‘ allow’d by God, and a good accommo-
 ‘ dation to men.

‘ THAT all people in every nation,
 ‘ as well members of * churches as o-
 ‘ thers, ought for conſcience ſake to ho-
 ‘ nour ſuch, as by the wiſe diſpoſing
 ‘ providence of God are their rulers, and
 ‘ are to ſubmit to the civil commands
 ‘ not only of ſuch rulers as are faithful,
 ‘ but even to infidels.

‘ ALTHO’ we cannot answer in juſti-
 ‘ cation † of every individual perſon,
 ‘ that is of our profeſſion in matters of
 ‘ religion, no more than our chriſtian
 ‘ friends of other perſuaſions can do in
 ‘ behalf of all of their perſuaſions; yet
 ‘ we can ſay this, and prove it to all the

* Declaration of divers elders and brethren of congregational ſocieties in and about the city of *London*, Nov. 10. 1651.

† Declaration of ſeveral of the people call’d *Anabaptiſts* in and about the city of *London*, Dec. 12. 1659. The answer to the firſt crimination.

‘ world, that it hath been our profession,
‘ and is our real practice, to be obedient to
‘ *magistracy* in all things civil, and will-
‘ ing to live peaceably under the go-
‘ vernment establish’d in this nation: For
‘ we do believe and declare, *magistracy*
‘ to be an *ordinance* of God, and ought
‘ to be obey’d in all lawful things.

‘ THESE things we have herein recit-
‘ ed, the rather, because that such judg-
‘ ment as shall be made by any concern-
‘ ing us, may be fairly and duely taken,
‘ and calculated from our own writings,
‘ and not from the aspersions unjustly
‘ cast upon us by such, who have not
‘ only render’d many guilty for the of-
‘ fence-fake of some one person; but also
‘ call’d others, after the same name given
‘ to us, with whom we have had or held
‘ no correspondency or agreement, en-
‘ deavouring to blemish our profession, by
‘ charging the whole party, not only
‘ with the guilt of many strange unsound
‘ opinions, such as were never receiv’d or
‘ allow’d by them; but also with many
‘ actions wherein they have been least of
‘ all, if at all concern’d. And as for
‘ those things wherein any of us, or o-
‘ thers of our judgment have been actually
‘ concern’d, we hope it has proceeded
‘ from a due regard to those invariable
‘ rules given in the Holy Scripture for
‘ the ordering of our conversation, with
‘ respect

‘ respect unto *magistracy*, according to
 ‘ the best judgment could be made of
 ‘ them, and pursuant thereunto, done in
 ‘ observance of those publick edicts and
 ‘ declarations, whereunto the most uni-
 ‘ versal obedience and constant adherence
 ‘ hath been requir’d by those that have
 ‘ had the power over us, and who have
 ‘ admitted us the least of any people, to
 ‘ dispute the reason of governments and
 ‘ laws.

‘ AND for that the subjection yielded
 ‘ by us, to the powers that have been
 ‘ over us, hath proceeded from a consci-
 ‘ ence not daring to disobey, unless in
 ‘ such things which we could not un-
 ‘ derstand to be lawful, and the affections
 ‘ that have been manifested therein, have
 ‘ arisen from the enjoyment of that due
 ‘ liberty and protection, which we have
 ‘ had in matters of religion; we do hope
 ‘ and desire, that none of us upon the
 ‘ re-establishment of the present govern-
 ‘ ment, shall now be adjudg’d criminal
 ‘ by our present governours; but that we
 ‘ may notwithstanding reap the benefit of
 ‘ that favour, that hath been declar’d and
 ‘ tender’d by the King’s Majesty, and be
 ‘ protected from all injury and violence
 ‘ whatsoever, equally with others his Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s subjects, in the quiet and peace-
 ‘ able enjoyment of our religious and civil
 ‘ rights and liberties, we desiring and en-
 ‘ deavouring

‘ deavouring to behave ourselves in all
 ‘ good conscience towards God and man,
 ‘ remembring that rule of our Lord, that
 ‘ we are to render unto *Cæsar* the things
 ‘ which are *Cæsar*’s, and to God the
 ‘ things which are God’s; and that we,
 ‘ as well as rulers, must certainly at the
 ‘ great day be accountable, to the just
 ‘ and righteous judge of all the earth, for
 ‘ all our doings.’

I FIND in short-hand, added to the end of these printed Apologies, these words, *viz.*

MR. *Jessey* preaching soon after, declar’d to his congregation, that *Venner* should say, that he believ’d there was not one *Baptist* amongst them, and that if they succeeded, the *Baptists* should know that Infants Baptism was an ordinance of *Jesus Christ*. Mr. *Gravener* was present at his meeting-house in *Coleman-street*, and heard him say this; from whose mouth, says the writer, I had this account.

As this mad insurrection in *England*, so also that at *Munster* in *Germany*, is improv’d by the generality of the *Pædo-baptist* authors, to reflect an *odium* on all those who are stil’d *Anabaptists*; I shall in this place transcribe what I find in a

certain *Author*, who about this time wrote a small Treatise, which he intituled *Moderation, or Arguments and Motives tending thereto; humbly tendred to the honourable Members of Parliament.*

The tragedy of Munster unjustly cast on the Anabaptists.

IN this Treatise, he says*, ‘ Now for-
 ‘ asmuch, as *among others* bearing the
 ‘ name of *Sectaries*, the name of *Ana-*
 ‘ *baptists* is mainly singled out for *publick*
 ‘ *reproach*, if not for *ruin*, and that their
 ‘ *grand* impeachment is their opposing
 ‘ *magistracy, government, &c.* Upon
 ‘ which account the *Munster Tragedy* is
 ‘ so much and often in all places (by
 ‘ prints and otherwise) laid to *their* charge,
 ‘ as indeed it could not *rightly* be more,
 ‘ if those bearing that name in *England*
 ‘ had been the very *individual* actors there-
 ‘ of at *Munster*; will not the *stones* speak,
 ‘ if all *men* should be wholly *mute* under
 ‘ such *clamours*? Wherefore in answer
 ‘ hereunto, I hope it will not be a crime
 ‘ very briefly to *apologize* so far as to do
 ‘ *them* truth, and *justice* itself a little
 ‘ *right*, without doing *others* any *wrong*,
 ‘ further than to undeceive them, and
 ‘ exonerate *all* as much as may be from
 ‘ *misprisions*, which in this and other
 ‘ things, are the *bane* and *poison* of pub-
 ‘ lick peace and amity.

* Sect. 19. p. 13.

‘ FIRST,

‘ FIRST, Let it be noted, that *other* Others in England charg’d as opposers of magistracy.
 ‘ *sorts* of men * in *England* do impeach
 ‘ one the other with the *same* *crime*;
 ‘ some charge the *whole* *Parliament*, both
 ‘ *Lords* and *Commons*, and all their adhe-
 ‘ *rents*, with *resisting* the *authority* of the
 ‘ *King*; saying, such of them were only
 ‘ *loyal* *obedient* *subjects*, who went to *Ox-*
 ‘ *ford* upon the *King’s* *summons*, to sit
 ‘ in *Parliament* there, or to aid and as-
 ‘ sist him in his war. *Others* charge all
 ‘ those *members* who have *espous’d* the *se-*
 ‘ *clusion* of so many of their *own* *house*,
 ‘ and turn’d out the *house* of *Lords*. *O-*
 ‘ *thers* have been adjudg’d and pro-
 ‘ ceeded against as *delinquents*, both for-
 ‘ merly and lately, for *resisting* the *Par-*
 ‘ *liament* upon the *King’s* account. I
 ‘ modestly mention *only* matters of *fact*,
 ‘ and that but *hints*, without judging the
 ‘ *merit* of them, only to the end, it may
 ‘ be observ’d, that (setting *these* aside) *o-*
 ‘ *thers* do and will mutually charge with
 ‘ *illegalities* and *exorbitances* relating to *ci-*
 ‘ *vil* *power* and *government*: And indeed
 ‘ *things* are not judg’d *illegal* (now in our
 ‘ days) *so* much for *what* they are *simply*

* Vide *Vindiciæ Regum*, or the grand rebellion.
 Gr. Williams, Bishop of *Ossory*. Dr. Fern, *Salmasius*,
 Mr. Edw. Symons. The loyal subjects belief, with the
 several answers unto these by other ministers.

in themselves; but either as they may not prosperously succeed, or as being done by other hands, and not in prosecution of their own interest and opinion, who so judge of them: Which favours more of faction, passion and interest, than of reason and justice, in the eyes of wise observers.

Antipædo-
baptism no
more re-
pugnant to
magistracy
than Pæ-
dobap-
tism.

SECONDLY, Their opinion, wherein other Christians differ from them about the subject and form of that instituted ordinance of Baptism, is as far off the point of magistracy and opposition to it, as Pædobaptism itself, or any other thing in the world. What though, therefore, some holding that opinion, either in this or other nations, should be in any wise enormous? yet their opinion and practice of Baptism would be no more impair'd, nor untrue, than our Saviour Christ's and his Apostles doctrine was, by the treachery of Judas, and the apostacy of multitudes in the primitive times. And why the denomination of Anabaptists (which they disown) should be fasten'd upon them, they are yet to seek of sufficient reason; not only seeing they acknowledge but once baptizing; but also they laying no more weight upon that instituted ordinance, than upon that other of like institution, the Lord's-Supper,

‘ *per*, and than *others* do, who hold the
 ‘ *other* way of *baptizing*; yet this *name* is
 ‘ *abusively* put upon them, as if all their *re-*
 ‘ *ligion* lay in *baptism*; whereas the course
 ‘ of their doctrine touching principles of
 ‘ faith, and piety, and morality in *christ-*
 ‘ *tian* practice, is such as is generally re-
 ‘ ceiv’d for *orthodox*; even by the most
 ‘ accounted *such*, who have read the con-
 ‘ fessions of their faith, and heard their
 ‘ common doctrine.

‘ THIRDLY, The generality of per- Baptists
 ‘ sons who hold this opinion, have gi- *principles*
 ‘ ven *sufficient* proof for divers years, that *as confi-*
 ‘ their principles and practices are as *sistent with*
 ‘ *sistent* with human *human so-*
 ‘ *ciety*, peaceable *as any o-*
 ‘ *co-habitation*, and *due subjection* to civil *ther.*
 ‘ *establisht* government, as any other in
 ‘ the land. Not only do their manifold
 ‘ *declarations*, if examin’d, give satisfacti-
 ‘ on in this point; but withal, neither
 ‘ the *time*, nor *place*, nor *persons of them*,
 ‘ can be mention’d, touching any *insur-*
 ‘ *rection* they ever made against the *ma-*
 ‘ *gistracy* in *England*. But if any per-
 ‘ sons of them had done it, would it be
 ‘ *justice* to impute that to the *whole*?
 ‘ Would those of *other ways* be so judg’d?
 ‘ Of whom there have been *many*, who
 ‘ have both plotted and actually perpetra-
 ‘ ted publick insurrections, which yet
 ‘ was never call’d the *Munster Tragedy*
 E 3 ‘ of

‘ of *Pædobaptists*; because, though the
 ‘ same reason, yet *moderation* would not
 ‘ allow it. For *personal faults* ought to
 ‘ have only *personal imputations*; and *they*
 ‘ desire to do therein, as they would o-
 ‘ thers should deal with them.

‘ As what has been said will much
 ‘ obviate an objection, touching those *few*
 ‘ of *this way* in the *army*; so let me add,
 ‘ that what they they done in that *pub-
 ‘ lick capacity*, under an opinion of *pub-
 ‘ lick obligation*, hath been so far *personal*,
 ‘ and as members of the *nation*, that
 ‘ such do wrongfully who impute it unto
 ‘ their *profession*. But if it must needs
 ‘ be so, then let it be try’d and prov’d,
 ‘ whether there have not been *many* call’d
 ‘ *Pædobaptists*, join’d in all those very
 ‘ actions, for *one of those* call’d *Anabap-
 ‘ tists*, even in the *highest acts* done,
 ‘ whatever unfairly and disingenuously hath
 ‘ been by any represented *otherwise* to the
 ‘ world. Neither have these things been
 ‘ done in *corners*, to be hid from the eyes
 ‘ of *indifferent spectators*, who are well
 ‘ able to judge of partiality.

‘ FOURTHLY, As touching *those now*,
 ‘ who hold some opinions about Christ’s
 ‘ kingdom on earth in a reputed offen-
 ‘ sive way; is it not notorious, that they
 ‘ are many of them *Pædobaptists them-
 ‘ selves*, and as much against those call’d

‘ *Ana-*

Pædobap-
 tists as
 much or
 more
 Fifth mo-
 narchists
 than Bap-
 tists.

‘ *Anabaptists* as others, even as well as in
 ‘ the subject of *baptism*? And on the
 ‘ *other hand*, the generality of those call’d
 ‘ *Anabaptists*, are as much against all
 ‘ their offensive opinions in those points
 ‘ (tho’ some few of *one*, as well as the
 ‘ *other* sort may own them) as any o-
 ‘ thers in the world, pitying those who
 ‘ *err* therein; and *publickly* in their
 ‘ congregations and doctrines detecting
 ‘ such *errors*, disclaiming and refuting
 ‘ them. Yet albeit there are many such
 ‘ call’d *Pædobaptists* of them, the *others*
 ‘ have more of *reason* and *moderation*,
 ‘ than to lay the *Munster Tragedy* upon
 ‘ that *name*, though there may be the
 ‘ *same* ground. If, therefore, there should
 ‘ be any *exorbitant irruption* in *words* or
 ‘ *actions* of that sort of people, *thus mix’d*;
 ‘ either let such fault be reputed merely
 ‘ *personal*, and no further; or else *indif-*
 ‘ *ferently, justly* and *impartially* be imput-
 ‘ ed to *one sort* as well as *another*, more
 ‘ than hitherto it hath been; which in-
 ‘ deed, among other things, may *justly*
 ‘ call in question the *justice* of *historians*
 ‘ touching the *Munster people*, which was
 ‘ about 130 years past; forasmuch as
 ‘ *truth* and *justice* is so much *wrong’d* be-
 ‘ fore our *eyes*, and at our own *doors*, as
 ‘ it is by *publick prints* and *otherwise*
 ‘ daily.

Oppressions
of the ma-
gistrates
the cause
of the re-
bellions in
Germany.

‘ FIFTHLY, All historians about the
‘ seditions in Germany confess *thus far*
‘ *ingenuously*; that the *intolerable oppres-*
‘ *sions* of the *magistrates* then, gave one
‘ *great* occasion of their *rise* and *progress*
‘ to that height. Wherefore at the
‘ same time (about the year of our Lord
‘ 1525,) in *Suevia* and *Franconia*, there
‘ arose in arms about forty thousand
‘ men, (who pretended nothing at all to
‘ that call’d *Anabaptism*) to exonerate
‘ and acquit themselves by force from
‘ their heavy burthens. Which was
‘ more a rebellion than the other; for
‘ they kill’d the greatest part of the *No-*
‘ *bility*; pillag’d, sack’d and burn’d their
‘ houses, castles and fortresses; and vio-
‘ lently overflow’d, and destroy’d the
‘ country like an inundation. Yet con-
‘ cerning *these*, we have *only* the *gentle*
‘ *tender hints* of our *Historiographers*, gi-
‘ ving us in few lines *merely narrative* of
‘ *fact*, without any *odium* on their *fault*,
‘ or any *black characters* at all upon their
‘ *names*, *persons* or *religion*; when as the
‘ same *history* of the same *fact*, imputed
‘ to some call’d *Anabaptists* there, is
‘ wrote in most dreadful letters of *blood*,
‘ concerning their persons, names and re-
‘ ligion; which (by the way) may guide
‘ the impartial reader in his observation
‘ and credit of *histories* wrote by *adver-*
‘ *saries*.

‘ *saries*. Now somewhat contemporary
 ‘ with this great insurrection (according
 ‘ to the same stories) *Caroloſtadius*, *Stock*,
 ‘ *Muntzer*, and other publick miniſters of
 ‘ the Goſpel (as *Luther* then was) fell
 ‘ from good principles to dangerous opi-
 ‘ nions, dreams, enthufiaſms, pretences of
 ‘ extraordinary viſions and revelations (all
 ‘ which, thoſe call’d *Anabaptiſts* that I
 ‘ defend, do, and ever did as much diſ-
 ‘ claim and abhor, as any others in the
 ‘ world, holding firmly to the ſacred word
 ‘ of God, the holy Scriptures) of whom,
 ‘ *Muntzer* chiefly manageth theſe opinions
 ‘ with the oppreſſions unto diſturbous
 ‘ practices, to his and others ruin and re-
 ‘ proach. About fix or ſeven years af-
 ‘ ter, which was about the years 1531,
 ‘ 1532, and forward, broke out like the
 ‘ unhappy buſtle at the city of *Munſter*
 ‘ in *Weſtphalia*, by *John Becold Knipper-*
 ‘ *doling*, and one *Bernard Rotman*, a
 ‘ publick preacher in that city; and this
 ‘ was accompany’d with the like fooliſh,
 ‘ mad, vain opinions; being as far *remote*
 ‘ from, and as *foreign* unto *theſe* people
 ‘ in *England*, in their *opinions*, as they
 ‘ were in their *perſons*, *place* and *time*;
 ‘ who therefore are unduly and unwor-
 ‘ thily call’d their *ſpawn*, their *offspring*
 ‘ and *generation*, &c. and what not?
 ‘ Howbeit, let it be obſerv’d, how mon-
 ‘ ſtrous

‘ *strous and prodigious* this is made ; and
 ‘ how the world is made to *ring* of the noise
 ‘ of this *one* disaster, that happen’d in *one*
 ‘ little compass of time ; and how unchri-
 ‘ stianly and unreasonably it is now *rak’d*
 ‘ up, and *reckon’d* to a company of people,
 ‘ who in such things are as innocent now
 ‘ of the like, as they were of that very fact
 ‘ there, being then unborn. Whereas I
 ‘ have mention’d *like fact* at the *same*
 ‘ *time in others*, and may add the like
 ‘ hints in those histories of the *Switzers*,
 ‘ who about 200 years before, arose and
 ‘ violently destroy’d their *Lords*, and as
 ‘ violently chang’d (without blame) both
 ‘ their *governours* and *government*, not re-
 ‘ verting to this day ; which if those of
 ‘ *Germany* had succeeded as prosperously,
 ‘ they might have been no more blam’d.
 ‘ I might infinitely multiply examples, if
 ‘ I should rake in the dust and ashes of
 ‘ other sorts throughout all ages in *Chris-*
 ‘ *tendom*. But what need I go farther
 ‘ then our divers and manifold insurrec-
 ‘ tions in *England*, against all kinds and
 ‘ degrees of *authority*? Neither need I
 ‘ mention *by whom* they have been per-
 ‘ petrated. Yet all this without the
 ‘ least remembrance or reckoning of *Mun-*
 ‘ *ster* unto them, or any of them ; such
 ‘ is the power of partiality and prejudice.
 ‘ Moreover I must not omit to return
 ‘ the

‘ the reader’s eye again to *Munster*, of
 ‘ which same city we have had certain
 ‘ account year by year to this very day,
 ‘ for some considerable time; *that they*
 ‘ *rise in arms, resist and oppose their law-*
 ‘ *ful magistrate, refuse obedience to his e-*
 ‘ *dicts, and maintain the same city against*
 ‘ *him by publick force, and all without*
 ‘ the least brand of infamy on them. On
 ‘ the other hand, such are very great
 ‘ strangers in the world, who know not
 ‘ that in *Holland* are very many, and have
 ‘ been very long, that bear the same name
 ‘ of *Anabaptists*, that are as famous for
 ‘ peaceable living and subjection, as any
 ‘ others have been infamous for the con-
 ‘ trary.

‘ ALL which strongly results and con-
 ‘ cludes in this; that there is no end nor
 ‘ bounds of impeaching, if there be not
 ‘ strict restraint of publick faults unto
 ‘ their proper authors, acquitting other o-
 ‘ pinions they hold, except only such o-
 ‘ pinions as do naturally and directly tend
 ‘ to such faults. Wherein, indeed, Mr.
 ‘ *Joshua Scotton* (tho’ a *Pædobaptist*) deals
 ‘ the most ingenuously of all other, who
 ‘ in his translation of *Guy de Brez’s*
 ‘ *German story*, calls it *The German En-*
 ‘ *thusiast*, in the title page, and not the
 ‘ *German Anabaptist*: and in the latter
 ‘ end of his epistle to the reader, hath
 ‘ these

‘ these words; *those*, faith he, *which* he
 ‘ *stileth* Anabaptists, *between* whom and
 ‘ *other* mere Dissenters in the point of
 ‘ Paedobaptism, being otherwise orthodox
 ‘ and peaceable, the reader ought always
 ‘ conscientiously to distinguish.

German
 sedition
 also
 charg’d
 upon Lu-
 ther.

‘ SIXTHLY, Let me a little further
 ‘ enforce this by observing, that all this
 ‘ German sedition that is now (about 130
 ‘ years after) put to the account of the
 ‘ innocent reputed Anabaptists in Eng-
 ‘ land; was in like manner as much charg’d
 ‘ upon innocent Luther at that very day, as
 ‘ the same historians do jointly and gene-
 ‘ rally report; and is confess’d by Mr.
 ‘ Samuel Clark in his *lives of the fathers*.
 ‘ Yet had they as much reason for that
 ‘ (though none at all) seeing the *princi-*
 ‘ *pal* fomenters of the sedition had been
 ‘ publick preachers of the Gospel, as Lu-
 ‘ ther was, who then and thereupon could
 ‘ but purge himself by publick *mani-*
 ‘ *festo*, (which is yet extant) as *these* in
 ‘ England have done, time after time, *not*
 ‘ only by their confession of faith oft im-
 ‘ printed, shewing their constancy, be-
 ‘ sides their manifold declarations, *more*
 ‘ particularly upon this point in hand, but
 ‘ confirm’d by constant practice, in their
 ‘ peaceable co-habitation with their seve-
 ‘ ral neighbourhoods both in city and
 ‘ country.

‘ SEVENTH-

‘ SEVENTHLY, Is not this *same* imputation toss’d like a *ball*, or rather a *stone*, between the *Protestants* in general, and the *Papists* in all their paper contests? And *which*, and *who* can acquit every *individual* of their party? If, therefore, any *particular persons* of this *name* should (among others) prove extravagant; it will no more make this *their glorying void*, than that of *others*, who may rather (for want of moderation) watch for haltings in these more than in *all other* sorts besides. Its evident then, that the prevalency of *interest* and *faction* above *commutative justice*, *right* and *reason*, in too many of this age, doth influence them to this great unfairness. Which whether the design be (in this way) to *stifle* their *opinion* about *baptism*, or to bring *swift destruction* upon those who hold it, though they hold it with never so much *piety* towards God, *righteousness* and *peace* towards men, *moderation* and *respect* towards those *christians* who conscientiously differ from them, yet (leaving that to God, that knows their purposes, and is above them) they desire the Lord to forgive those who thus *traverse* them, and *detract* them, and that (through the assistance of God’s grace) they may be enabled to walk inoffensively

‘ sively towards *Jew* or *Gentile*, or church
 ‘ of God, so as to put to silence the ig-
 ‘ rance of all foolish men, who delight
 ‘ to speak evil of *what* and of *whom* they
 ‘ know not, at least many of them.

Enthu-
 siasm, &c.
 unjustly
 charg’d on
 the Bap-
 tists.

‘ EIGHTHLY, As touching extraordi-
 ‘ nary *impulses, enthusiasms, dreams, visions,*
 ‘ &c. Such who lay all this upon those
 ‘ call’d *Anabaptists* promiscuously in *Eng-*
 ‘ *land*, they shew themselves to be *very*
 ‘ *great strangers, not understanding where-*
 ‘ *of they do affirm.* The contrary where-
 ‘ of shineth so bright, *as* in their ordi-
 ‘ nary teachings and church-government,
 ‘ *so* in the manifold treatises, commenta-
 ‘ ries, &c. printed and publish’d by many
 ‘ learned of them, upon all points in the
 ‘ christian religion. Wherein let it be
 ‘ *duly* noted, that one grand occasion of
 ‘ this and such like imputations, is plain-
 ‘ ly this: That one writing author meet-
 ‘ ing with *heterodox* and gross opinions
 ‘ in his readings of others, laid upon that
 ‘ *name*, he transmits it to another that
 ‘ follows; and so the *second* to the *third*, and
 ‘ none of all (for the most part) receiv-
 ‘ ing any such assertions from the persons
 ‘ themselves, much less from any confes-
 ‘ sion of faith, comprehending the judg-
 ‘ ment of the *generality* of that name.
 ‘ By which both writers and readers both
 ‘ do, and suffer wrong in creating to
 ‘ them-

‘ themselves and others groundless pre-
 ‘ judices, conveying them over from age
 ‘ to age, and rendring them a hideous,
 ‘ monstrous people. And though I could
 ‘ multiply instances hereof in my own
 ‘ small readings, yet I shall mention but
 ‘ *one*, which was call’d a catalogue of the
 ‘ damnable errors of the *Anabaptists*, e-
 ‘ numerating *thirty and one*; yet of *all*
 ‘ these, there was but that *one* reputed
 ‘ error of *Antipædobaptism*, which they
 ‘ will espouse, disavowing the rest as
 ‘ much as he that accus’d them, who
 ‘ was a minister of no inferior note. Yet
 ‘ I shall forbear to mention any names,
 ‘ because I want not due regard to such
 ‘ persons, who may be otherwise godly
 ‘ and serviceable in both teaching and wri-
 ‘ ing, setting aside such misprisions. And
 ‘ withal few observing readers are unac-
 ‘ quainted herewith, to need instances.

‘ NINTHLY, Neither is it less mani- *Errors*
 ‘ fest, that most of those very errors are *call’d A-*
 ‘ held and maintain’d by *nabaptisti-*
 ‘ against the other. The manifold contests *cal as*
 ‘ among them about the *principal* points of *much or*
 ‘ *doctrine*, and also most things apper- *more held*
 ‘ taining to *church-government* and *admi-*
 ‘ *nistration of all ordinances*, have been *by the Pæ-*
 ‘ upon the house-top, to be publicly *dobaptists.*
 ‘ known and read of *all* men. More
 ‘ particular those call’d of the *Episcopal*,
 ‘ *Pres-*

‘ *Presbyterian* and *Erastian* ways, not to
 ‘ mention more; nor yet these with the
 ‘ least immoderate spirit towards them,
 ‘ but *rather* desiring it may be us’d by
 ‘ them to a *moderation* of mind towards
 ‘ each other; and also to enquire whether
 ‘ the *reputed errors* chargeable upon those
 ‘ call’d *Anabaptists*, are any way compa-
 ‘ rable in *number* or *weight* to those in
 ‘ controversy among themselves; and
 ‘ whether the cause of such estrangedness
 ‘ and enmity on their part, be not mis-
 ‘ understanding or interest of some kind
 ‘ or other, which in like manner hath
 ‘ led themselves to such *heat* of opposi-
 ‘ tion, as hath ended in *removing* and *re-*
 ‘ *volving* of church-government.

The Ger-
 man histo-
 rians ac-
 count very
 doubtful.

‘ TENTHLY, To conclude these par-
 ‘ ticulars upon this general section, we
 ‘ find the stories of a company of people
 ‘ in *Germany*, who are long since dead
 ‘ and buried, under the greatest reproach
 ‘ and infamy that can be. Of whom
 ‘ none can be left to answer for them-
 ‘ selves; their reported *extirpation* and *ex-*
 ‘ *inction* being about 130 years past;
 ‘ their rise and fall, *lives* and *deaths*,
 ‘ wrote by their *adversaries*; no aggrava-
 ‘ *ting* circumstances, either for *opinion* or
 ‘ *practice*, seems to be omitted; no *exte-*
 ‘ *nuating* passages *confessedly* inserted. Now
 ‘ that upon the *whole*, there might be such

a *people*, and such *persons* bearing that
appellation of *Anabaptists*, who mix'd
with others, may be faulty in opinions
and practices, is a matter much un-
doubted. But that every *aggravating*
passage is true; or that any *one historian*,
admitting him otherwise just, was an
ear witness of all their *opinions*, and an
ocular witness of all their *tragical ac-*
tions, is reasonably to be *doubted*. And
consequently their testimony in every
puncto not so much to be *regarded*; be-
cause false reports of contrary minded
men, touching both such and other per-
sons and things, are so *abounding* and
notorious in *our own* nation and age, like
that of *Jer. xx. 10. Report, say they,*
and we will report; they watched for my
halting, &c. Infomuch that, indeed,
we have little ground of credit to com-
mon fame, at least, touching *particu-*
lars of *words* or *acts* spoken or done at
the very next town; and least of all
from *adversaries* to the persons and things
reported of. Yet all such things, thus
brought upon the *wings* of *fame*, is not-
withstanding as commonly and credibly
receiv'd, and thereupon again *reported*,
yea *printed* and *publish'd*, even in all the
aggravating circumstances, as if nothing
in the world were more authentick and
indubitable; such is the blind and rash
credulity of men (though some other-

VOL. II. F wise

‘ wise honest) where they are *pre-dispos-*
 ‘ *ed* and *prefix’d* in their affections or
 ‘ disaffections.

*If true,
 make not
 against the
 English
 Baptists.*

‘ BUT suppose, and admit it granted
 ‘ to be *wholly true* ; yet observe what
 ‘ *proximity* and *nearness* of relation is there
 ‘ between *those* persons and enormities in
 ‘ Germany, to *these* now in England ; that
 ‘ *their eating of four grapes should set the*
 ‘ *teeth of these on edge* ? For there is not
 ‘ any *one* thing of *agreement* is or can be
 ‘ pretended, but in that of *Baptism*. And
 ‘ if the stories themselves be true, they
 ‘ do not *so much* agree in that neither (all
 ‘ things consider’d and observ’d) as those
 ‘ call’d *Anabaptists* and *Pædobaptists* do
 ‘ here agree ; for they relate, that they
 ‘ grounded their practice of *Baptism*, up-
 ‘ on pretences of *immediate revelations* ;
 ‘ that they baptized *all* who came unto
 ‘ them ; that they threaten’d *damnation* to
 ‘ *all* who neglected it ; that they forc’d
 ‘ *all* persons to be baptized, by proclaim-
 ‘ ing that all who refus’d it should be
 ‘ kill’d. All which signify so much of
 ‘ frenzy and madness, that to those of
 ‘ *that name* in England, nothing is more
 ‘ absurd and abominable : And that there
 ‘ were ever any such rude and heady per-
 ‘ sons, answerable to this their portrai-
 ‘ ture and picture, scarce any thing to
 ‘ *them* is more *incredible*. Besides their
 ‘ practices of *polygamy*, and destroying
 ‘ pro-

‘ propriety, is unto these in *England* detestable; and *both* among other things detected in their *declaration* 1647. Wherefore, I do humbly and fairly propose, ‘on their behalf in *England*; that if the *denomination* of *Anabaptist* be deriv’d *from*, or at least imputed reproachfully *upon*, that abominable abuse of *Baptism*, by these men in *Germany* (waving the proper signification of the word as unduly applied) that then, and from henceforth, these who bear the *name* of *Anabaptists* in *England*, may be for ever acquitted and discharg’d thereof, never more to be call’d by that *name*; which discharge is a *due debt* from *justice itself*, seeing they can as clearly and truly plead *not guilty*, as any other people in the world.’

ON the 25th of *Octob.* 1660. The King put forth a declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, wherein he establish’d again the book of *Common-prayer*. Yet to quiet the minds of the people, he therein assur’d them, that he would appoint an equal number of Divines of both persuasions, to review the same, and consider the several objections rais’d against it; and if there was occasion, to make such reasonable and necessary alterations and amendments therein, as should be agreed upon, for the satisfaction of *tender consciences*,

F 2

and

A declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs.

*A commis-
sion grant-
ed.*

and preserving peace and unity in the churches. Accordingly a commission was granted *March 25.* following, with full power and authority to the persons therein mention'd, to make such amendments and alterations, as they should agree upon, subjecting the same to his Majesty's approbation. The persons appointed on the side of the establish'd Church were, the Bishops of *York, London, Durham, Rochester, Sarum, Worcester, Lincoln, Peterborough, Chester, Carlisle, Exeter and Norwich.* And of the *Presbyterian* persuasion were, the Reverend *Anthony Tuckney, John Conant, William Spurstow, John Wallis, Thomas Manton, Edmund Calamy,* Doctors of Divinity: *Richard Baxter, Arthur Jackson, Thomas Case, Samuel Clark, and Matthew Newcomen,* Clerks. To whom were added, *Dr. Earles, Dean of Westminster, Peter Heylin, John Hackett, John Berwick, Peter Gunning, John Pearson, Thomas Peirce, Anthony Sparrow, Herbert Thorndike, Thomas Horton, Thomas Jacomb,* Doctors of Divinity; *William Bates, John Rawlinson, William Cooper,* Clerks; *Dr. John Lightfoot, Dr. John Collins, Dr. Benjamin Woodbridge, and William Drake,* Clerk.

*No Bap-
tists in this
commis-
sion.*

THOUGH the *Baptists* in England were at this time very numerous, and as famous men amongst them for learning and piety, as most in this commission; yet

no

no regard was had to their case, nor any one of that persuasion appointed to have any share in it. They did not design to reform so far; for if they could but bring the *Presbyterian* party in, which was the most numerous of the Dissenters, that might be sufficient to secure their power; though by the consequence of this proceeding it seems probable, there was no design of reformation; but only to quiet the minds of the people, till they could gain time.

THIS controversy was manag'd by writing, and publish'd the same year. Among many other things, the doctrine and manner of Baptism was debated. Both persuasions charg'd each other, with advancing such principles therein, as gave encouragement to *Anabaptism* *. For the *Episcopal* Divines asserted, that it is uncharitable to punish the children for their parents faults: That the children of *heathens* or excommunicate persons, have as much right to *Baptism* as those of believers; that the efficacy of children's *Baptism*, depends neither upon their own faith and repentance, nor that of their parents: That to say, that every child that is baptized, is not regenerated by God's Holy Spirit, tends to

* By the account of the proceedings, publish'd in 1661, it seems to me very evident, that the controversy on the doctrine of *Baptism*, did much tend to promote what they call *Anabaptism*.

bring the *baptism* of *Infants* into contempt, and makes it not material whether the sacrament be administred to children or not. These were reasons sufficient to fasten that charge upon them. On the other hand, the *Presbyterian* Divines asserted: That the making a cross in *Baptism* was an human invention; that *God-fathers* and *Godmothers* have no power to covenant and vow in the *child's* name: That those who do not consent themselves, or do it by some other, who have a right to act for them, are not taken into covenant: That it cannot be said in faith, every *child* baptized is regenerated by God's Holy Spirit: That those who receive the benefit of *Baptism* must be qualified *subjects*, having the conditions requir'd of such: That if *Baptism* justify and save those that receive it, Christianity is another kind of thing than the *Apostles* understood it to be; who taught, that it was not the washing of *water*, but the answer of a good conscience, that saves in baptism: That if *baptism* had such a virtue in it, then it were a charitable practice to catch the *children* of *Heathens*, and dip them, and so save them against their wills. Let the reader judge whether these could be excus'd from the like charge.

I HAVE been inform'd, that when the *Presbyterians* were pleading hard for such con-

concessions from his Majesty, as they thought would bring about an union ; the Lord-Chancellor told them, his Majesty had receiv'd petitions from the *Anabaptists*, who desir'd nothing more but to have liberty to worship God according to their consciences. At which they were all struck dumb, and remain'd in a long silence.

MR. *Baxter* has given us this in another light ; therefore I shall make use of his own words. He says.

‘ THE most of the time being spent *Life, Part II. p. 277.*
 ‘ thus in speaking to particulars of the
 ‘ declaration as it was read ; when we
 ‘ came to the end, the Lord-Chancellor
 ‘ drew out another paper, and told us,
 ‘ that the King had been petition'd also
 ‘ by the *Independants* and *Anabaptists* :
 ‘ And tho' he knew not what to think of
 ‘ it himself, and did not very well like
 ‘ it ; yet something he had drawn up,
 ‘ which he would read to us, and desire
 ‘ us also to give our advice about it.
 ‘ Thereupon he read, as an addition to the
 ‘ declaration ; *That others also be permitted*
 ‘ *to meet for religious worship, so be it*
 ‘ *they do it not to the disturbance of the*
 ‘ *peace, and that no Justice of peace or offi-*
 ‘ *cer disturb them.* When he had read
 ‘ it, he again desir'd them all to think
 ‘ on it, and give their advice ; but all
 ‘ were silent. The *Presbyterians*, says he,

‘ all perceiv’d as soon as they heard it,
 ‘ that it would secure the liberty of the
 ‘ *Papists*. And one of them [Dr. Wallis]
 ‘ whisper’d me in the ear, and intreated
 ‘ me to say nothing, for it was an *odious*
 ‘ *business*; but let the Bishops speak to it.
 ‘ But the Bishops would not speak a
 ‘ word, nor any one of the *Presbyterians*
 ‘ neither; and so we were like to have
 ‘ ended in that silence. I knew if we
 ‘ consented to it, it would be charg’d on
 ‘ us, that we spake for a toleration of
 ‘ *Papists* and *Seċtaries*, (but yet it might
 ‘ have lengthen’d out our own.) And if
 ‘ we spake against it, all sects and parties
 ‘ would be set against us, as the causers
 ‘ of their sufferings, and as a partial peo-
 ‘ ple, that would have liberty ourselves, but
 ‘ would have no others have it with us.
 ‘ At last seeing the silence continue, I
 ‘ thought our very silence would be
 ‘ charg’d on us a consent if it went on;
 ‘ and, therefore, I only said this: *That*
 ‘ *this reverend brother, Dr. Gunning, even*
 ‘ *now speaking against sects, had nam’d*
 ‘ *the Papists and the Socinians*. For our
 ‘ parts we desir’d not favour to ourselves a-
 ‘ lone, and rigorous severity we desir’d a-
 ‘ gainst none. As we humbly thank’d his
 ‘ Majesty for his indulgence to ourselves, so
 ‘ we distinguish the tolerable parties from
 ‘ the intolerable. For the former, we hum-
 ‘ bly crave just lenity and favour; but for
 ‘ the latter, such as the two sorts nam’d be-
 ‘ fore,

‘fore, by that reverend brother, for our parts we cannot make their toleration our request. To which his Majesty said, That there were laws enough against the Papists. And I reply’d, That we understood the question to be, whether those laws should be executed on them or not. And so his Majesty brake up the meeting of that day.’

HAD these two great bodies united in their opinions, what could the *Baptists* have expected, unless Divine Providence had interpos’d, but an entire extirpation by banishment or death? But I think it would be but just, that the *Pædobaptists* should first agree in the principles on which they found their practice of *Infant-baptism*, rather than persecute the *Baptists* for dissenting in that point from them. For in my judgment, if *Infant-baptism* was an institution of Christ, the *Pædobaptists* could not be at such a loss about the grounds of the right *Infants* have to *Baptism*. Some affirm, it is to take away original sin. Others say, it is their right by the covenant, they being the seed of believers. Others again say, *Infants* have faith, and therefore have a right. Others, that they have a right by the faith of their sureties. Some ground their right from an apostolical tradition. Others upon the authority of the scriptures. Some say all children of professing christians ought to be

be baptized. Others say, *none* but the *children* of *true believers* have a right to it. Sure if it was an *ordinance* of *Christ*, his word would soon end this *controversy*.

IT is very remarkable, and worthy the reader's observation, how much the *assertors* of *Infant-baptism* differ among themselves, about that *faith* they suppose to be in infants. For some of them assert, they have the *faith* of the *church*, that being entail'd upon all that are within the pale thereof. Thus the *Roman Catholics*. Others say, they have the *faith* of the *gossips* or *sureties*. Thus the *Church* of *England*. *Musculus* seems to assert they have an *imputed faith*. Mr. *Baxter* intimates they have a *dogmatical faith* only; but does not tell us how it agrees with, or differs from the *faith* of the *adult*. Some say it is a *physical faith*; some a *metaphysical*; and some a *hyperphysical faith*: Hard words and unscriptural I must confess; no wonder they are so little understood. Some say they are born *believers*, which proceeds from their parents being in *covenant*, and being *believers*; but this is to entail *grace* to *nature*, and *regeneration* to *generation*; nay, and to assert, all are not children of wrath by *nature*, or as they are born and come into the world. Others say they are made *believers* by *baptism*, that ordinance conveying *grace*. But to which of all these shall we give credit?

dit? The truth is, they all speak without book, having no ground from *God's word* to say as they do

NOTWITHSTANDING the *Baptists* were some of the first of the Dissenters from the establish'd Church, who shew'd their abhorrence of *Oliver's* usurpation, and made overtures to the King for his restoration; and although they fully clear'd themselves from being any ways concern'd in the *insurrection* made by *Venner* and his accomplices: Yet they were so far from being allow'd the liberty of their religion, that the first and most violent persecution was chiefly level'd against them; as the following relations will make appear.

IMMEDIATELY after the rising of *Venner* and his accomplices, Mr. *Hanserd Knollys*, and divers other godly and peaceable persons, were hal'd out of their houses, and committed, some to *Woodstreet-count-cr*, some to *Newgate*, and many to other prisons.

*Hanserd
Knollys
and others
imprison'd.*

MR. *Vavasor Powel* was taken from his house by a company of soldiers, and carried to prison, from thence he was conducted to *Salop*, and committed with several others, to the custody of a marshal; where they continu'd prisoners about nine weeks; and then by order of the King and Council, he was releas'd with the rest of his brethren.

*Vavasor
Powel and
others im-
prison'd.*

IT was about this time, that the famous Mr. *John Bunyan* was apprehended at a meeting, and carried before a Justice of the peace; who committed him to prison, though he offer'd security for his appearing at the next sessions. At the sessions he was indicted for an upholder and maintainer of unlawful assemblies and conventicles, and for not conforming to the Church of *England*. He was a man of a free and open spirit, and would not dissemble to save himself, especially in his Master's cause; and therefore frankly own'd his being at a meeting and preaching to the people, and that he was a dissenter from the establish'd church. The Justices took his open and plain dealing with them, for a confession of the indictment; and sentenc'd him to perpetual banishment, because he refus'd to conform, in pursuance of an Act made by the then Parliament. Upon which he was again committed to prison; where, though his sentence of banishment was never executed upon him; yet he was kept in prison 12 years, and suffer'd much under cruel and oppressing goalers. There were in the prison with him, two eminent dissenting ministers, viz. Mr. *Wheeler* and Mr. *Dun*, both very well known in *Bedfordshire*; and above threescore dissenters besides. After he had suffer'd twelve years imprisonment for the testimony of a good conscience, he was releas'd

releas'd on the importunity of Dr. *Barlow*, Bishop of *Lincoln*.

THEY were neither abettors of this treasonable insurrection, nor privy to it, nor could their enemies fix any thing of that nature upon them; but they had the oaths of *supremacy* and *allegiance* tender'd to them, which it was impossible for any dissenter to take; because by this, they must acknowledge the King *supreme head* of the Church, and swear allegiance to him in all ecclesiastical matters, as well as civil: And their refusing to take this, was made the pretence for keeping them in custody. So that from the time of this *mad insurrection*, to the coronation of the King, which was about 18 weeks, many upon this account were kept close prisoners. Above 400 were crouded into *Newgate*, besides what were in the other prisons belonging to the *city* and places adjacent: But then an act of pardon being granted to all offenders, except murderers, they were all set at liberty.

ANOTHER instance of their severity towards the *Baptists* above all others, appear'd in this. ' The parliament assembled upon the restoration, says Dr. *Wall*, ' express'd the dislike the nation had conceiv'd against the tenets and behaviour of these men [meaning *Anabaptists*] ' when making an act, for the confirming all ministers in the possession of ' their

*Hist. of
Bapt.
Vol. II.
p. 215.*

‘ their benefices, how *beterodox* soever they
 ‘ had been, provided they would con-
 ‘ form for the future, they excepted such
 ‘ as had been of this way.’

As they would give this people the least encouragement to conform, so they treated them the most cruelly and barbarously for their dissenting; as will appear by the following relations.

Baptists
imprison’d
at Reading.

MR. *Jessy*, an eminent and learned minister of the *Baptists*, gives us an account from *Reading-prison*, where divers peaceable *Baptists* were put, having oaths put upon them, which they were not satisfied to take; who wrote to him of the Lord’s instructing and comforting them under these their sufferings for his sake. Their words are these:

The Lord’s
loud Call,
 P. 24.

‘ OUR Lord and King, whom we
 ‘ serve, hath brought us under his own
 ‘ pavilion; and *his banner* over us hath
 ‘ been and still *is love*; and hath been
 ‘ teaching of us these lessons following.

Job xx.
 22, 23.

‘ FIRST, In the loss of all outward
 ‘ things, having Christ, we enjoy all
 ‘ things, and are satisfied in the Lord;
 ‘ we shall take the spoiling of our goods
 ‘ with far more comfort, than the enemy
 ‘ will do in the spending of them, for
 ‘ that word is very much upon our hearts
 ‘ concerning him.

‘ SECONDLY, We hope we have learn-
 ‘ ed, in whatsoever condition we are in,
 ‘ to

‘ to be therewith contented ; and are persuaded in our hearts, this is given us in as an answer of many prayers breath’d forth unto the Lord on our behalfs.

‘ **THIRDLY,** That whereas formerly we could hardly part with any thing for the Lord, we are now made willing by him, to part with all things for him, and to say with good old *Ely*, *It is the Lord*, 1 Sam. iii. 18. *let him do what he pleaseth* ; and that in *Job*, is set before us for our example, upon whom the ends of the world are come ; *The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away ; blessed be the name of the Lord.* Job i. 22, 23. *In all this Job sinned not, &c.*

‘ **FOURTHLY,** We have since our confinement tasted a greater sweetness in the promises of the Lord than formerly ; and particularly these places following, we have sweet experience of, Phil. iv. 19. *and we can truly say by experience, That faithful is he, that hath thus promised, for he hath also done it ; it is the Lord’s doing and is marvellous in our eyes.* 1 Pet. v. 7. We are also brought by the power of his grace, to a more watchful frame over our hearts, thoughts, and actions, by these trials than formerly. One thing had almost slip’d our memory, the knowledge of which will we hope rejoice our hearts ; that our relations that are precious to the Lord, and to us, bear this our suffering with incomparable patience ;

' ence, rather singing for joy, than weep-
 ' ing for grief: Also our *societies* from
 ' whence we were taken, are exceeding
 ' chearful, and a very lively spirit of faith
 ' and prayer is amongst them; and their
 ' meetings rather encreaseth than other-
 ' wise. Sure, *That the Lord is near, his*
 ' *wondrous works declare; for the singing of*
 ' *birds is come, and the turtle is heard in*
 ' *our land.*

Isa. lxii. 1.

' AND now, brethren, forasmuch as
 ' the mercies expected and pray'd for by
 ' us, are to be enjoy'd in the way of
 ' righteousness, it greatly concerns us, we
 ' cry mightly to the Lord, as did his
 ' servant of old. Then shall we have
 ' that new name which God will give
 ' us, which is express'd in the last verse
 ' of that chapter.

' Now the God of all peace fill you
 ' with peace and joy in believing; so
 ' pray your brethren through grace,

John Jones;
Robert Keate;
John Peck,
Richard Steed,
Thomas Jones,
John Coombes.

BY a letter from *Newport in Wales*,
 about this time, came to Mr. *Jessy* the
 following account.

{ TO

‘ To give you a full account of the hard
 ‘ dealings we now meet with from some.
 ‘ Last Lord’s-day with naked swords and
 ‘ staves, they attempted to set upon Mr.
 ‘ *H. W.* and Mr. *W. J.* but these by
 ‘ their peaceable carriage stay’d their hands
 ‘ from blows; it being an assembly of
 ‘ rude soldiers, and most or many *Papists*,
 ‘ that came together against sermon was
 ‘ ended in *Lauvibaugel Laularnum*, which
 ‘ they had design’d since the night before,
 ‘ especially as we understand to cut off
 ‘ Mr. *W.* Mr. *J.* and another friend that
 ‘ lives in that town; though ’tis like, if
 ‘ they had but the least just occasion or
 ‘ any pretence to fall upon them, they
 ‘ would have spared none of the rest.
 ‘ Since the Lord was pleas’d to bring us
 ‘ safe from under their hands, they con-
 ‘ tinu’d, it seems; their carousing all that
 ‘ day till midnight, and fought, and dan-
 ‘ gerously wounded one another. And
 ‘ as we understand, made use of that to
 ‘ accuse us at *London*; though we have
 ‘ neither spoken, nor acted any thing
 ‘ contrary to the publick peace, though
 ‘ for our own defence, we were suffici-
 ‘ ently provok’d thereunto. This is writ,
 ‘ that as occasion is, a true relation here-
 ‘ of may be given.’

THE kingdom being in a great fer- Anno
 ment, so that the *Baptists* could promise 1661.

themselves no security from disturbance. They therefore publish'd an address to the King, Parliament and People, entitled, *Sion's groans for her distress'd; or, sober endeavours to prevent innocent blood, &c.* The occasion of the publication of it, they deliver in this short epistle to the reader, thus:

‘ *Courteous Reader,*

‘ **W**ITH burthen'd hearts, as once
 ‘ the two disciples travelling un-
 ‘ to *Emaus* spoke to Christ, a suppos'd
 ‘ stranger, so speak we unto thee. Art
 ‘ thou a stranger in our *island*, and hast
 ‘ not known the things that have come
 ‘ to pass in these our days; while the
 ‘ father hath been divided against the
 ‘ son, and the son against the father,
 ‘ three against two, and two against
 ‘ three. Even a man's foes, they of his
 ‘ own household; so great have been our
 ‘ divisions like *Reuben*, that no sooner
 ‘ light hath been by God's grace mani-
 ‘ fested to the begetting children of the
 ‘ free-woman, but presently they are per-
 ‘ secuted by the children of the bond-
 ‘ woman. And how unpleasing this is
 ‘ to *Jesus Christ*, and how unlike his
 ‘ golden rule that saith; *And all things*
 ‘ *whatsoever ye would that men should do*
 ‘ to

‘ to you, do ye even so to them; for this is
 ‘ the law and the prophets: We say,
 ‘ how unpleasing this is to him; judge
 ‘ upon thy serious perusal of this fol-
 ‘ lowing treatise, which we commend
 ‘ to thy perusal in thy most retir’d con-
 ‘ sideration, when thou canst read with
 ‘ thy thoughts least cumbred with other
 ‘ business. Our design in what we beg
 ‘ may be perused, is general good, in
 ‘ setting at liberty that which God
 ‘ made free, even the conscience. Thou
 ‘ canst not be ignorant of the great
 ‘ controversy that now is on foot, as
 ‘ to *uniformity in worship*, to impose
 ‘ by violence, where they cannot per-
 ‘ suade, under seeming pretence of scrip-
 ‘ ture-warrant and antiquity; the con-
 ‘ trary to which is asserted in the words
 ‘ of truth and soberness, by scripture,
 ‘ reason, and practice of the primitive
 ‘ times.

‘ AND least violence and oppressing
 ‘ of conscience should run up to that
 ‘ heighth, till it terminate in the blood
 ‘ of some who are dear, and their blood
 ‘ precious in the eyes of the God of all
 ‘ the earth; therefore have we commit-
 ‘ ted this unto the view of all men, as
 ‘ part of the work of our generation, in
 ‘ singleness of heart: And remain lovers
 ‘ and prayers for all men, *that we might*

‘ *live a peaceable and a quiet life in all
‘ godliness and honesty.*

The 8th day of the
3d month, 1661.

‘ *Farewel,*

<i>Thomas Monck,</i>	<i>Francis Stanley,</i>
<i>Joseph Wright,</i>	<i>William Reynolds,</i>
<i>George Hammon,</i>	<i>Francis Smith.</i>
<i>William Jeffery,</i>	

HAVING in my former volume shewn the opposition made to a *toleration*, by the city magistracy, the Assembly of Divines, the ministers of *London, Lancashire and Warwickshire, &c.* I should not do justice to the *English Baptists*, if I should pass by, or abridge this their address to the King, Parliament and People, for a *toleration*. Which seems to me so full and strong, and containing such cogent arguments, urg'd with so much life and spirit; that he would have an hard task, that should undertake to confute them. I shall, therefore, deliver the whole in their own words.

‘ *As all the holy scriptures, say they,
‘ have been written aforetime for our learn-
‘ ing and admonition, upon whom the ends
‘ of the world are come; so that particu-
‘ lar book of the Revelation, is of such
‘ excellent worth. That blessed is he that
‘ readeth, and they that hear the words of
‘ this prophecy, and keep those things that
‘ are written therein; for the time is at
‘ hand.*

band. In which book, in no less than
 three several texts it is testified; that
 the nations of the world, and inhabitants
 of the earth with their kings, would
 drink the wine of the fornication of
 that *abominable harlot*, that sitteth upon
 people, and multitudes, and nations, and
 tongues; and by her sorceries deceiveth
 all nations, until they become drunk,
 and altogether incapable, in that condi-
 tion, to receive the pure waters of life,
 tender'd to them in the plain way of the
 Gospel of our Lord *Jesus*.

THIS, with grief of heart, we see
 too visible. For the doctrine and tra-
 ditions of *Rome*, who is mystery *Ba-*
bylon; and since her apostacy the mo-
 ther of harlots; (*For the woman which*
thou sawest, is that great city which
reigneth over the kings of the earth;)
 have so corrupted the earth, and cloud-
 ed the understandings of the sons of
 men, that the great and most impor-
 tant truths of God cannot be receiv'd
 or believ'd. The reason why the na-
 tions are so generally beguil'd in the
 concernments of their souls is, because
 the greatest part being carnal and un-
 regenerate persons, they are naturally
 inclin'd to such ways of worship, as
 are accompany'd with external pomp
 and glory. And therefore the Spirit
 of the Lord testifies, that the *great har-*

Rev. xiv.
 8.
 Rev. xvii.
 2.
 Rev. xviii.
 3.

Rev. xvii.
 18.

Rev xvii.

‘ *lot* filleth her abominations, and filthy
 ‘ fornications in a golden cup; like the
 ‘ phyfician that gilds his bitter pill, that
 ‘ his patient may the better fwallow it.

‘ THUS doth the *Romifh* church, and
 ‘ her followers; who to make their *car-*
 ‘ *nal ordinances* find the better reception,
 ‘ deliver them to the inhabitants of the
 ‘ earth, by fuch as are honourable a-
 ‘ mongft men; in worldly fanktuaries,
 ‘ moft magnificently built and adorn’d,
 ‘ endow’d with lordly revenues, accom-
 ‘ pany’d with mufick and voices, and
 ‘ pontifical veftments; yea, many super-
 ‘ ftitions and customs merely earthly and
 ‘ fenfual, if not worfe. Which, we fay,
 ‘ fo pleafeth the earthly and unregenerate
 ‘ man, that he is ready to fay, this is the
 ‘ beft religion, which is of moft esteem
 ‘ in the nations, and accompany’d with
 ‘ all earthly glory and delights: Altoge-
 ‘ ther forgetting, *That ftrait is the gate,*
 ‘ *and narrow is the way that leads to life,*
 ‘ *and few there be that find it.* And
 ‘ that which is highly esteem’d among
 ‘ men, is abomination in the fight of
 ‘ God.

Matt. vii.

14.

Luke xvi.

15.

‘ AND if it had been the mind of the
 ‘ Lord *Jesus*, that the Gospel fhould have
 ‘ been recommended unto the world, and
 ‘ accompany’d with thefe ceremonies and
 ‘ formalities that are practis’d in the wor-
 ‘ fhifp of the nations, or were us’d amongft
 ‘ the

' the *Jews*; it is very strange we should
 ' not have one word for it all the scrip-
 ' tures of the New Testament; when Heb. iii.
 ' Christ was as faithful over his house, 2, 5, 6.
 ' as *Moses* was over his, and is to be Deut.
 ' heard in all things, as *Moses* himself xviii. 18,
 ' commanded. And there will be little 19.
 ' encouragement to touch with the *Gen-*
 ' *tile* nations in their superstitious ceremo-
 ' nies, when it shall be consider'd, that
 ' the rites and ceremonies of the *Mosaical*
 ' law, being once the appointment of
 ' God, did far exceed in glory what the
 ' shallow inventions of the *Romish* or any
 ' of the national churches are able to pro-
 ' duce; yet wholly taken away. Which
 ' the author to the *Hebrews* notably
 ' proves: saying, *Then verily the first co-*
 ' *venant had also ordinances of divine ser-*
 ' *vice, and a worldly sanctuary; for there*
 ' *was a tabernacle made, the first wherein*
 ' *was the candlestick, and the table, and*
 ' *the shew-bread, which is call'd the sanc-*
 ' *tuary; and after the second vail the ta-*
 ' *bernacle, which is call'd the holiest of all.*
 ' They had also their High-Priest and of-
 ' ferings, and linen ornaments belonging
 ' to this covenant. But, saith our au-
 ' thor, *If that first covenant had been* Heb. viii.
 ' *faultless, then no place had been sought* 7.
 ' *for the second; and, he taketh away the* Heb. x. 9.
 ' *first, that he might establish the second.*
 ' And now under the second covenant,

' which is the Gospel, the *Romish* Bishop,
 ' or any man on earth, cannot be our
 ' High-Preist. *For we have such an High-*
 ' *Priest, who is set on the right-hand of*
 ' *the throne of the Majesty in the heavens ;*
 ' *a minister of the sanctuary, and of the*
 ' *tabernacle which the Lord pitcheth, and*
 ' *not man.*

Acts vii.
 48.

' AND under this second covenant,
 ' God hath not promised his presence to
 ' any temple built with wood and stone,
 ' as of old ; *For now the Most High*
 ' *dwelleth not in temples made with hands,*
 ' as the superstitious clergy would per-
 ' suade us ; but *where two or three are*
 ' *gather'd together in the name of Christ,*
 ' *there is he in the midst of them ; altho'*
 ' *it be in a house, by a river's side, on*
 ' *a mountain, or in a wilderness ; such*
 ' *little respect hath he to place.*

1 Cor. i.
 26, &c.

' As little respect hath God to *persons,*
 ' because of any honour or esteem they
 ' may have in the world, either for birth or
 ' natural endowments ; but such as usu-
 ' ally are *foolish, weak, and base in the eyes*
 ' *of the world,* doth he make use of in
 ' the work of the Gospel ; that so the
 ' *learned Doctors, and Masters of Art*
 ' may not have wherewithal to boast.

' WHICH despis'd way of the Gospel,
 ' we well know, becomes a *stumbling*
 ' *block* to the *Gentile Nations,* as in the
 ' first delivery of it, it did unto the
 ' *Jews,*

‘ *Jews, who would not receive the Lord*
 ‘ *of life, nor his doctrine, because not*
 ‘ *accompany’d with that earthly glory*
 ‘ *which their corrupt hearts affected:*
 ‘ *And rather would retain that exploded*
 ‘ *dispensation of the law, which God had*
 ‘ *departed from, than they would receive*
 ‘ *the glorious Gospel by those hands the*
 ‘ *wisdom of God thought fit to tender*
 ‘ *it. For which obstinacy, as the Apo-*
 ‘ *stle Paul saith, The wrath of God is*
 ‘ *come upon them to the uttermost, even*
 ‘ *to the laying waste their temple and ci-*
 ‘ *ties, the great slaughter of their persons,*
 ‘ *and captivating their posterity, as at*
 ‘ *this day. Let therefore the Gentile Na-*
 ‘ *tions fear; but more especially this na-*
 ‘ *tion. For some such spirit seems to ap-*
 ‘ *pear amongst those that would retain*
 ‘ *their empty and dead forms of wor-*
 ‘ *ship, which God hath shewed his dis-*
 ‘ *pleasure against, and have no footing in*
 ‘ *the whole book of God, rather than*
 ‘ *they will receive the pure way of God,*
 ‘ *without the mixture of human inven-*
 ‘ *tions and traditions.*

‘ BUT the bare rejection of truth, and
 ‘ embracing of error, is not all the evil,
 ‘ that the nations generally are engag’d
 ‘ in by the Church of *Rome*, and her
 ‘ followers; but for to compleat and fill
 ‘ up the measure of their iniquities, like
 ‘ *Nebuchadnezzar*, nothing less must be
 ‘ in-

‘ inflicted on the servants of the Most High
 ‘ God, that cannot bow down to the
 ‘ *Golden Image* of their inventions, than
 ‘ the *fiery furnace* of *persecution*; many
 ‘ times unto death itself.

‘ AND this the people of the Lord must
 ‘ endure; it being as certain their portion
 ‘ to be persecuted, as it is the practice of
 ‘ the false Church to persecute; who
 ‘ build their superstructures of will-wor-
 ‘ ship on no other foundations but violence
 ‘ and cruelty. Else what mean these im-
 ‘ prisonments, banishments, wars, and
 ‘ massacres, which have been made in
 ‘ *Europe* for religion? What troubles and
 ‘ desolations in *Germany*; civil commo-
 ‘ tions in *France*; cruelties exercis’d in
 ‘ the *Netherlands*, by that darling of
 ‘ the *Romish* Church, the Duke of *Al-*
 ‘ *va*, and others? What massacres in
 ‘ *France*, *Piedmont* and *Ireland*, to car-
 ‘ ry on the business of religion, for the
 ‘ satisfaction of a blood-thirsty and insa-
 ‘ tiable Clergy; when the disciples of the
 ‘ Lord *Jesus* were to use no other vio-
 ‘ lence against those that rejected them,
 ‘ than to *shake the dust from their feet*,
 ‘ which would be a witness against them
 ‘ at the tribunal of *Jesus*, not *Cæsar’s*?
 ‘ Yea, this *Popish* principle of propagat-
 ‘ ing religion by the sword, hath reach’d
 ‘ the poor *Americans*; many hundred
 ‘ thousands of them having been destroy’d,
 ‘ because

Acts xiii.

51.

Matt. x.

14, 15.

' because they would not be *profelytes*,
 ' no other cause being to be given. For
 ' it cannot be suppos'd, those remote and
 ' simple people had so much as known
 ' the *Spaniard*, much less done any in-
 ' jury unto him. Our own nation hath
 ' also felt the rage of this fury, both be-
 ' fore, and in the reign of *Queen Mary*.
 ' And the wise may judge, whether the
 ' Bishops endeavours to impose their li-
 ' turgy in *Scotland*, with their cruelties in
 ' *England*, did not contribute much to
 ' our late unhappy troubles. But cer-
 ' tainly if the *Romish* and national clergy
 ' were guided by the Spirit of God, the
 ' authority of Scripture, or force of argu-
 ' ment to support their forms of worship;
 ' they would not then impose them by
 ' external force; when by such proceed-
 ' ings they render themselves altogether
 ' unlike the Lord *Jesus*, the prince of
 ' peace; *who came not to destroy men's*
 ' *lives, but to save them.*

' BUT on the contrary, it will evince
 ' to all that have their eyes open, how
 ' like they are to that woman, which is
 ' *drunken with the blood of saints, and* Rev. xvii.
 ' *with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus;* 6.
 ' *in whom will be found the blood of pro-* Rev. xviii.
 ' *phets, and of saints, and of all that were* 24.
 ' *slain on the earth.* Altho' as our Lord
 ' and master hath foretold, in killing o- John xvi.
 ' thers, 2.

‘thers, she may think she doth God service.

‘LEST, therefore, those unchristian
‘principles of persecution for conscience,
‘which troubleth the world, should take
‘root in this nation, to the stirring up
‘men’s minds to shed the blood of the
‘innocent, the guilt whereof is able to
‘sink the most flourishing kingdoms into
‘an ocean of misery and calamity; we
‘have here following written some arguments, which we humbly offer to all
‘men, to prove how contrary to the
‘Gospel of our Lord *Jesus*, and to good
‘reason, it is for any magistrate, by outward force, to impose any thing in the
‘worship of God, on the consciences of
‘those whom they govern; but that liberty ought to be given to all such, as
‘disturb not the civil peace, though of
‘different persuasions in religious matters.
‘In which discourse we neither desire
‘nor design to diminish any of that power which God hath given to the King’s
‘Majesty that now reigneth: Whom we
‘own to be chief magistrate and governor of these nations, over all persons, as
‘well ecclesiastical as temporal. And to
‘all his commands that do not oppose the
‘scriptures of truth, shall we yield active
‘obedience, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake. And if any
‘thing otherwise shall be requir’d, we
‘shall

‘ shall be passive, and suffer what may
 ‘ be inflicted on us for our consciences.
 ‘ For whatever hath been suggested by
 ‘ evil men; yet that magistracy and go-
 ‘ vernment is an ordinance of God, hath
 ‘ been frequently asserted in our discourses *See the*
 ‘ and writings, and is by us believ’d, as *confession*
 ‘ fully as the Apostle *Paul* in the 13th *of faith,*
 ‘ of the *Romans* hath taught. And all *printed in*
 ‘ that we desire, which is dearer to us *March*
 ‘ than our lives, is, that our spirits and *1659; and*
 ‘ consciences may be left free to serve *since re-*
 ‘ the Eternal God: Which ought to be *printed,*
 ‘ granted us, seeing, as the same Apostle *and pre-*
 ‘ faith in these cases, *We shall every one* *sented to*
 ‘ *of us give an account of himself to God.* *his Maje-*
 ‘ But to our arguments. The first of *sty.*
 ‘ which shall be that, which some of us
 ‘ made use of to the King’s Majesty from
 ‘ *Maidstone*; which we have not yet seen
 ‘ weaken’d.

‘ LET it, therefore, be consider’d, If
 ‘ any magistrate under heaven, in the
 ‘ days of the Gospel, hath power by out-
 ‘ ward force to impose any thing in the
 ‘ worship and service of God on the con-
 ‘ science; it is given him as he is a ma-
 ‘ gistrate only, or as a christian so con-
 ‘ sider’d. But that no such power is
 ‘ given by God to any magistrate, ap-
 ‘ pears,

‘ I. BECAUSE if magistrates as such;
 ‘ have such an authority; then all magi-
 ‘ strates

See the confession of faith, printed in March 1659; and since re-printed, and presented to his Majesty.
 Rom. xiv. 12.

‘ strates in all nations have the same pow-
 ‘ er. Then, if we liv’d in *Turkey*, must
 ‘ we receive the *Alcoran*, and be wor-
 ‘ shippers of *Mahomet*; if in *Spain*, be
 ‘ *Papists*; in *England*, sometimes *Papists*,
 ‘ as in *Henry VIII’s* days, *Protestants* in
 ‘ *Edward VI’s*, *Papists* again in *Queen*
 ‘ *Mary’s*; and *Protestants* again in *Queen*
 ‘ *Elizabeth’s*. And so for ever, as the
 ‘ authority changes religion, we must do
 ‘ the same; but God forbid, for nothing
 ‘ is more absurd.

Matt.

xxviii. 18.

‘ 2. SEEING in the days of the Gos-
 ‘ pel, the Lord *Jesus* is that great *Pro-*
 ‘ *phet*, which as *Moses* said, *is to be heard*
 ‘ *in all things*; and as himself testifieth,
 ‘ *Hath all power in heaven and earth gi-*
 ‘ *ven unto him*: Then if magistrates have
 ‘ power to impose any thing by outward
 ‘ force on the conscience, it must be com-
 ‘ mitted unto them from the Lord *Jesus*,
 ‘ and written in the scriptures of the New
 ‘ Testament; or else how doth it appear?

1 Cor. iv.

6.

‘ *Let no man think of men above that*
 ‘ *which is written*. But the whole stream
 ‘ of the New Testament scriptures run
 ‘ clear in another channel. And there is
 ‘ no colour for any such imposition, as
 ‘ farther appears,

‘ 3. BECAUSE the Apostles themselves,
 ‘ that gave forth those commands which
 ‘ are written in scripture, to be obedient
 ‘ to magistrates, refus’d to be obedient to
 ‘ their

' their rulers, when they were command-
 ' ed to forbear, that which they judg'd
 ' part of the worship of God: And said,
 ' *Whether it be right in the sight of God,* Acts iv.
 ' *to hearken unto you more than unto God,* 19, 20.
 ' judge ye.

' 4. ALL the scriptures of the New
 ' Testament, that enjoin obedience unto
 ' magistrates, were written when the Ro-
 ' mans had the empire of the world;
 ' whose Emperors were for the most part,
 ' if not all, *heathenish* idolators, for the
 ' first three hundred years, until *Constan-*
 ' *tine's* time. It, therefore, cannot be
 ' suppos'd, that any of those texts of scrip-
 ' ture, that call for obedience to magis-
 ' trates, intend an obedience in matters of
 ' faith: For then the Christians that liv'd
 ' under those Emperors must needs have
 ' denied Christ, and worshipped the Ro-
 ' man Gods, as some of the Emperors
 ' commanded. As Dio-
 ' clesian,
 ' Euseb.
 ' Book
 ' VIII.
 ' chap. 3.

' 5. IF magistrates, as such, have
 ' power from God in the days of the Gos-
 ' pel to command in spiritual matters,
 ' and to punish those that obey not: Then
 ' must Christians surely be actually obe-
 ' dient, *not only for wrath, but also for*
 ' *conscience sake*: because else they should
 ' *resist the ordinance of God*. But if this
 ' were true, the way to heaven would be
 ' so far from being *strait and narrow*, that
 ' any might be a *disciple of Christ*, with-
 ' out Luke xiv.
 ' 17.

Rev. vii. 14, 15. Jam. i. 12. Acts xiv. 22. 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12.

out taking up the cross and following him; yea all sufferings and persecutions should wholly be at an end, and they that undergo them should utterly be condemn'd. For it is not to be suppos'd there could be persecutions, if all the commands of the magistrate in spiritual causes were actually to be obey'd. It, therefore, reasonably follows; that no magistrate, as such, hath power from God to compel in spiritual causes. But on the contrary, for saints to endure persecutions and sufferings rather than actually obey, is abundantly by the Lord foretold, rewarded and justified; as by the scriptures of the New Testament appears.

BUT if it be objected, that neither the magistrate is to command, nor the subjects actually to obey, any thing but what is according to the mind of God; it is answer'd, that all magistrates suppose whatever they impose to be so; but the question is, who is to determine. For if the magistrate, or any other man, or men, have power from God to judge and determine what is lawful for men to obey; then no room is left for them to dispute the lawfulness of any of his commands, it being their duty to obey whatever is commanded; and so as it hath been said before, *the cross of Christ ceases.*

Rom. xiv. 12. But if every one shall give account for himself

himself to God; then it reasonably follows, that every man must judge for himself in matters spiritual: And therefore, for the magistrate to compel, cannot be warrantable by scripture or reason.

AGAIN: That the power to judge and determine in spiritual matters, is not in a magistrate as such, *Gallio* the Roman deputy of *Achaia* well understood, when the Jews made insurrection with one accord against *Paul*, and brought him to the judgment-seat, saying, *This fellow persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law.* Which almost ever since hath been the great cry by all sorts of the national clergy, whose turns it hath been to have the magistrate on their sides, against all others that have differ'd from them. But *Gallio* said; *If it were a matter of wrong, or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you: But if it be a question of words, and names, and of your law, look ye to it, for I will be no judge of such matters.* And he drave them from the judgment-seat. Which worthy example, if magistrates would be persuaded to follow, by judging and punishing only civil injuries and wrongs, and leaving spiritual differences to be decided and judg'd, and punish'd by *Jesus Christ* according

Josh. xxi.
15.

Acts xviii.
12, &c.

But in that he suffer'd Sosthenes to be beaten he did not well, it being a civil injury.

‘ to the Gospel; they then would find
 ‘ themselves and governments quickly
 ‘ free from many inconveniences that
 ‘ now they are involv’d in, about decid-
 ‘ ing religious controversies, with exter-
 ‘ nal force and power.

‘ AND now that no magistrate, altho’
 ‘ a christian, hath power to be a lord over
 ‘ another’s faith, or by outward force to
 ‘ impose any thing in the worship of
 ‘ God, is also very clear.

‘ I. BECAUSE the Lord *Jesus* him-
 ‘ himself would never by any outward force
 ‘ compel men to receive him or his doc-
 ‘ trine. For when his disciples, supposing
 ‘ they might use violence, as under the
 ‘ law, would have commanded fire to
 ‘ come down from heaven, as *Elias* did, to
 ‘ consume them that would not receive
 ‘ him, Christ turn’d and rebuk’d them;
 ‘ saying, *Ye know not what spirit ye are*
 ‘ *of; for the son of man is not come to de-*
 ‘ *stroy mens lives, but to save them.* And
 ‘ most remarkable doth it appear, that it
 ‘ is not the intent of the Lord *Jesus*, that
 ‘ judgment should be executed on those
 ‘ that reject his words, to the punishing
 ‘ them in their bodies and estates in this
 ‘ life, as under the law, from his own
 ‘ sayings, which speak thus: *If any man*
 ‘ *hear my words, and believe not, I judge*
 ‘ *him not: for I came not to judge the*
 ‘ *world, but to save the world.* He that

Luke ix.
54, &c.

John xii.
47, 48.

‘ re-

' rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words,
 ' hath one that judgeth him: the word
 ' that I have spoken, the same shall judge
 ' him at the last day. And the Apostles
 ' also, were so far from propagating the
 ' Gospel by outward violence and force, Matt. x.
 ' 4.
 Acts xiii.
 52.
 ' that all their proceedings were by in-
 ' treaty and persuation; and in case of re-
 ' sistance, to shake the dust from their
 ' feet as a witness against their opposers.
 ' Nor will it avail to say, because the
 ' magistrate exercises authority on civil
 ' and temporal things, which the Lord As the
 dividing
 inheri-
 tances, &c.
 ' Christ would not, that therefore in spi-
 ' ritual things they may do the same;
 ' unless it may be suppos'd the magistrates
 ' right to have supremacy over the world
 ' to come, in all heavenly and eternal
 ' things; because God hath given him
 ' power over the world that now is, in
 ' earthly and temporal things. Which
 ' may be conjectur'd upon as good ground
 ' from what is written, as that a magis-
 ' trate under the Gospel dispensation hath
 ' more power in spiritual causes, than the
 ' Lord Christ or his Apostles would ex-
 ' ercise; especially, seeing there is not
 ' the least warrant for any such power
 ' from Christ or the Apostles, from any
 ' thing that is written in the scriptures
 ' of the New Testament. And to the
 ' law, and to the testimony; if they speak

‘ not according to this word, it is because
 ‘ there is no light in them.

‘ 2. IF any men, as Christians under
 ‘ heaven, have had any such power in
 ‘ the days of the Gospel, the Apostles and
 ‘ Elders in the primitive times must needs
 ‘ have had it. But this they utterly dis-
 2 Cor. i. ‘ claim’d: As Paul, *Not for that we*
 24. ‘ *have dominion over your faith, but are*
 ‘ *helpers of your joy: for by faith ye stand.*
 ‘ Yea, the Lord Jesus, when they strove
 Matt. xx. ‘ for domination, forbids it, saying: *Ye*
 25. ‘ *know that the princes of the Gentiles ex-*
 ‘ *ercise dominion over them, and they that*
 ‘ *are great, do exercise authority upon*
 ‘ *them; but it shall not be so amongst*
 ‘ *you. Even so saith Peter, speaking to*
 1 Pet. v. ‘ *the Elders; Feed the flock of God which*
 2, 3. ‘ *is amongst you, taking the oversight*
 ‘ *thereof, not by constraint, but willingly;*
 ‘ *not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind.*
 ‘ *Neither as being lords over God’s heri-*
 ‘ *tage, but being examples to the flock.*
 ‘ Why therefore the Christian Religion
 ‘ should be built and supported by vio-
 ‘ lence and cruelty, when the foundation
 ‘ was laid, and the work carried on all
 ‘ the Apostles days, and some hundred of
 ‘ years after, by a quite contrary means;
 ‘ is a question would be resolved by those,
 ‘ whose strongest argument for the sup-
 ‘ port of their religion is, TAKE HIM,
 ‘ JAYLOR. For such is the difference
 ‘ between

between the way which the Apostles and
 primitive saints took, in carrying on the
 work of the Gospel, and approving
 themselves to be the Ministers of God,
 and the way now used by the *national*
Clergy, than which nothing is more un-
 like. They being ambassadors for the
 prince of peace, did in his stead beseech
 and pray the disobedient to be reconcil'd
 to God; never stirring up the nations
 to ruin, and destroy by external violence
 those that oppos'd them in their mini-
 stry; but as the Apostle *Paul* saith, *Be-*
ing reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we
suffer it: Being defamed, we entreat.
Giving no offence in any thing, that the
ministry be not blamed: But in all things
approving ourselves as the ministers of
God, in much patience, in afflictions, in
necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in impri-
sonments, in tumults, in labours, in watch-
ings, in fastings, by pureness, by knowledge,
by long-suffering, by kindness, by the Holy
Ghost, by love unfeigned, &c. O ye ru-
 lers of the world, and inhabitants of the
 earth, this was the way, the Lord of all
 things, with his disciples and followers,
 took to plant and establish the doctrine
 of the Gospel in the hearts and affec-
 tions of the sons of men. Be ye not
 therefore unlike those whom you say you
 follow, by imposing your doctrines and
 traditions by the violence of penal laws and

Heb. xi.
36, &c.

‘ edicts, to the *imprisoning, banishing, and*
 ‘ *spoiling* the goods of the conscientious;
 ‘ causing them, as the saints of old, to
 ‘ be *destitute, afflicted, and tormented*, al-
 ‘ though for their innocency and upright-
 ‘ ness, *the world is not worthy of them*.

Matt. xiii.

‘ 3. IT is very plain, that the Lord Je-
 ‘ sus himself, in his parable of the *tares*
 ‘ and *wheat*, forbids any outward force
 ‘ or violence to be exercised upon false
 ‘ worshippers and hereticks as such. For
 ‘ by the *tares*, which he forbids the pul-
 ‘ ling up, cannot be intended the trans-
 ‘ gressors of the second table, such as
 ‘ *thieves, murderers*, or any that should
 ‘ do that civil injury or wrong unto ano-
 ‘ ther, which he would not have done
 ‘ unto himself. For all confess with one
 ‘ consent, that the magistrates authority
 ‘ reaches such. Neither can it be in-
 ‘ tended that *the children of the wicked*
 ‘ *one*, in any sense, that visibly appear to
 ‘ be so, should be tolerated in the church;
 ‘ for that destroys the power of excom-
 ‘ munication. That which unavoidably
 ‘ then follows is, that although men are
 ‘ *tares, or the children of the wicked one*,
 ‘ by erring in the worship of God, yet
 ‘ should they not be *plucked up*, but *to-*
 ‘ *lerated in the field of the world*, until
 ‘ the *harvest* shall come, *at the end of*
 ‘ *this world*; when the *angels*, who are to
 ‘ be the reapers, and infallibly can distin-
 ‘ guish

' guish between the *tares* and the *wheat*,
 ' which no magistrate now can, shall
 ' gather the *tares* in bundles, and cast
 ' them into a furnace of fire; there shall
 ' be wailing and gnashing of teeth. Which
 ' scripture so eminently concludes for a
 ' toleration; that the greatest enemies to
 ' true liberty have been at a great loss,
 ' when they have endeavour'd to make it
 ' speak some other thing. As that ex-
 ' positor is, who says; *It seems to him,*
 ' *not to note the duty of the civil magis-*
 ' *trate, but the event of God's providence,*
 ' *that God would permit the co-habitation*
 ' *of the wicked in the world with the just;*
 ' *not that magistrates or ministers should*
 ' *permit them, and not by civil punishment*
 ' *or ecclesiastical, remove them out of the*
 ' *church or the world.* But if men did
 ' not fight against truth, they would not
 ' so evidently contradict their own sayings.
 ' For who can believe that it should be the
 ' mind of God, to permit the co-habita-
 ' tion of the wicked in the world with
 ' the just, as aforesaid, and yet the ma-
 ' gistrate should not permit them; but
 ' remove them by civil punishment out of
 ' the world? Hath the magistrate power
 ' to remove those out of the world, that
 ' God would have permitted to live?
 ' How soon may a magistrate, if guided
 ' by such doctrine, bring the blood of
 ' the innocent upon himself and nation?

J. T. Sup-
 plement,
 P. 29.

2 Kings

xxiv 4.

‘ *And innocent blood the Lord will not*
 ‘ *pardon. It therefore highly concerns*
 ‘ *all magistrates, before they persecute*
 ‘ *any for matters of faith or wor-*
 ‘ *ship, to see they have a better warrant*
 ‘ *for so doing, than the word of men;*
 ‘ *which will not secure them at that day,*
 ‘ *when God shall judge the secrets of men,*
 ‘ *by Jesus Christ, according to the Gospel.*

Rom. ii. 2.

16

Rev. xx.

12.

So many

as have

lived

where the

word of

the Gospel

comes.

‘ Which will be found to be the book
 ‘ that shall be opened, when the dead,
 ‘ both small and great, shall stand before
 ‘ God, to be judged by what is written
 ‘ therein, according to their works. As
 ‘ the Lord Jesus saith: The word that I
 ‘ have spoken, the same shall judge you at
 ‘ the last day. And this is his word, to
 ‘ let both tares and wheat grow together
 ‘ in the field of the world, until the har-
 ‘ vest.

‘ 4. IT can in no wise be safe for ma-
 ‘ gistrates, in the days of the Gospel, to
 ‘ persecute and destroy those that are
 ‘ contrary minded in religious matters,
 ‘ because of their fallibility. And that is
 ‘ the very reason why the Lord Jesus,
 ‘ in the fore-mention’d parable, forbids
 ‘ gathering up the tares; least the wheat

Matt. xiii.

31.

‘ be rooted up along with them. That
 ‘ magistrates may err in spiritual and re-
 ‘ ligious matters, woful experience hath
 ‘ taught the world in all ages. The Lord
 ‘ of Life himself was put to death, for

‘ sup.

suppos'd blasphemy and wickedness, and
accus'd for being *an enemy unto Cæsar*.
Which great mistake was committed
through ignorance; as *Peter* saith, *And* Acts iii.
now, brethren, I wot that through igno- 17.
rance ye did it, as also did your rulers.
And at this day, what mistakes are con-
tinu'd in magistrates about religion?
Some being *Calvinists*, as in *Holland* and *In Europe*,
Geneva, more *Lutherans*, but the great-
est part *Papists*: And each of these
condemneth, and many times persecut-
eth the other for heresy, or superstition.
Unavoidably therefore it follows, that
some of these must err: But we need not
go far for the proof of this in one and the
same person, who receives that at one
time for truth, which at another time
must be persecuted for error. This ap-
pear'd notably in King *Henry VIII.* who
persecuted the *Protestants* to death; and
writes against *Luther*, for which the
Pope gives him the title of *defender of*
the faith: And yet a while after re-
ceives some of *Luther's* doctrines, and
rejects the supremacy and authority of
the *Pope*; and serves the *Papists* as he
did the *Protestants*. Nor will magis-
trates be the more free from mistakes,
by relying on the authority of Synods,
Popes, or general Councils, because
such eminent contradictions and opposi-
tions have appear'd amongst each of them,
that

As Jer.
Taylor
now Bi-
shop of
Down, in
his liberty
of Proph.
Sect. VI.
at large
proves.

Matt. xxvi.
20, 27.

1 Cor. xi.
24, 25.

1 Cor.
xiv. 19.

‘ that nothing is more uncertain than their
‘ conclusions. As for general Councils,
‘ whose authority is in the greatest esti-
‘ mation of the three, it is plain, they
‘ are so far from being infallible, that
‘ their decrees have been not only directly
‘ opposite to plain texts of scripture, and
‘ the practice of the primitive church,
‘ but also against each other. Which
‘ appear’d first in the Council of *Con-*
‘ *stance*, in the thirteenth session; where
‘ it was decreed, that the Lord’s-Supper
‘ should be given but in one kind;
‘ when nothing is more plain, than that
‘ the Lord *Jesus* instituted it; the A-
‘ postle *Paul* afterwards deliver’d it to
‘ the *Corinthians*; and the primitive
‘ church receiv’d it, with both the bread
‘ and the cup.

‘ So for the Council of *Trent*, to de-
‘ cree that the service in the church
‘ should be perform’d in *Latin*; how
‘ contrary is it to the doctrine of *Paul*;
‘ who said, *In the church he had rather*
‘ *speak five words with understanding, that*
‘ *he might teach others, than ten thousand*
‘ *words in an unknown tongue.* So also
‘ have they clash’d one with another: The
‘ Council of *Trent* allowing picturing of
‘ God the father; the Council of *Nice*
‘ altogether disallowing it. And in the
‘ great *Arian* controversy, which was
‘ no circumstantial business, how many
‘ Coun-

‘ Councils and Conventions, were both
 ‘ for and against it?

‘ As little reliance can be put on any
 ‘ suppos’d infallibility the *Pope* may have ;
 ‘ there having been two or three at one Benedict.
Silvester
III. Gre-
gory VI.
 ‘ time, each raging against the other, with
 ‘ their censures and decrees. And noto-
 ‘ rious it is, what dissention there was
 ‘ amongst the Popes and Cardinals about
 ‘ Pope *Formosus* ; who being first Bishop
 ‘ of *Pontiniack*, was degraded by Pope Fox's acts
and mon.
p. 188.
 ‘ *John VIII.* and made to take an oath
 ‘ to lead a secular life all his days. Yet
 ‘ by Pope *Martin* that succeeded *John*,
 ‘ was *Formosus* releas’d from his oath, re-
 ‘ stor’d to his Bishoprick, and afterwards
 ‘ came to be *Pope*, and so continu’d 5 years,
 ‘ making several decrees. But *Stephen VI.*
 ‘ coming to the Popedom, abrogates the
 ‘ decrees of *Formosus*, takes up his body,
 ‘ cut off two of his fingers, throws them
 ‘ into the river *Tyber*, and then buries
 ‘ him in a *Layman’s* sepulchre. Next to
 ‘ *Stephen* succeeds *Romanus* ; who on the
 ‘ the other hand repeals the acts and de-
 ‘ crees of his predecessor *Stephen* against
 ‘ *Formosus*. And Pope *John X.* in a sy-
 ‘ nod at *Ravenna*, ratifies all the decrees
 ‘ and doings of *Formosus*. Yet after all
 ‘ this, comes Pope *Sergius*, digs up again
 ‘ *Formosus*, cuts off his head and three
 ‘ more off his fingers, and throws his
 ‘ body into the *Tyber*, and likewise de-
 ‘ pos’d

‘ pos’d all such as had been consecrated by
 ‘ him. All which schisms and dissen-
 ‘ tions make it plain to the world, that
 ‘ there is nothing of infallibility in the
 ‘ *Popes*.

‘ AND for national conventions and
 ‘ synods; they are so far from any shew
 ‘ of infallibility, that the same complec-
 ‘ tion and temper the nation is of, where-
 ‘ in they are call’d, and have their pro-
 ‘ motions, you shall be sure to find them
 ‘ of; because they have their dependency
 ‘ on the authority that calls them toge-
 ‘ ther. So that although the last nation-
 ‘ al synod in this nation, would have e-
 ‘ stablish’d *Presbytery*, because that then
 ‘ was most like to take; yet it is very
 ‘ questionable, if now a convention be
 ‘ call’d, whether it will be much talk’d
 ‘ of amongst them.

‘ THEN this must be concluded from
 ‘ all, that seeing magistrates themselves,
 ‘ general Councils, Popes, or national Sy-
 ‘ nodes may err, in judging and determi-
 ‘ ning the most weighty controversies in
 ‘ religion; there can therefore be no se-
 ‘ curity for a magistrate that he doth well
 ‘ in persecuting or putting to death the
 ‘ contrary minded in religious matters;
 ‘ seeing through mistake, he may as soon
 ‘ persecute or put to death the true fol-
 ‘ lowers of the Lord *Jesus*, as any other.
 ‘ Yea, in likelihood much sooner; be-
 ‘ cause

' cause they in conscience towards God,
 ' cannot receive the inventions and tradi-
 ' tions of men, in the worship of God;
 ' but must be a witness for the eternal
 ' God against them, for which they are
 ' accounted as the saints of old, *pestilent* Acts xiv.
 ' *fellows, movers of sedition, turners of the* 5.
 ' *world upside down, enemies to Cæsar, and* Acts xvii.
 ' upon this account persecuted; when the 6, 7.
 ' greatest part of men being unregenerate,
 ' and having no other spirit in them but
 ' what is of this world, there is therefore
 ' no reason why the world should per-
 ' secute and hate his own.

' 5. FOR magistrates to inflict tempo-
 ' ral punishments upon any of their sub-
 ' jects, for not conforming to their de-
 ' crees, that enjoin any spiritual worship
 ' or service, is undoubtedly a breach of that
 ' royal law, which says, *Whatsoever ye* Matt, vii.
 ' *would that men should do to you, do you* 12.
 ' *even so them, for this is the law and the*
 ' *prophets*; and is a sure and standing rule,
 ' by which all men, if they would deal in-
 ' genuously by themselves, might measure
 ' the justice of their proceedings towards
 ' others. For who, that was not a despe-
 ' rate enemy to himself, would put out
 ' another man's eye, if he was sure his
 ' own should be put out as soon as he
 ' had done; as he was to be serv'd by
 ' the judicial law. Neither would those
 ' that are forward to persecute, be very
 ' zealous

' zealous in their proceedings, if they
 ' were sure, that those whom they perse-
 ' cute should have power on their sides,
 ' to *mete the same measure unto them*. And
 ' this is worthy of observation; that this
 ' rule of doing as we would be done un-
 ' to, can be receiv'd and pleaded by all
 ' sorts of men, whilst they are under af-
 ' fliction and persecution; but who re-
 ' members it, when they have power to
 ' afflict and persecute others? The *Pa-*
 ' *pists* themselves, when out of power,
 ' in this and other nations, can plead a-
 ' gainst persecution for their conscience;
 ' as they did in the reign of Queen *Eli-*
 ' *zabeth*, procuring the letters of the Em-
 ' peror, and other Princes, to intercede
 ' for some places to be allow'd, where
 ' they may worship by themselves. But
 ' in this they desir'd more than themselves
 ' would allow to others when in power.
 ' So, many of the *Protestants*, where the
 ' magistrate is different from them in re-
 ' ligion, can be well pleas'd with a *tole-*
 ' *ration*: And *Martin Luther* in his ser-
 ' mon of the good shepherd; english'd
 ' by *W. G.* in the year 1581, speaking
 ' of the kingdom of Christ, saith, it is
 ' not govern'd at all by any force or pow-
 ' er, but by outward preaching alone;
 ' that is, by the Gospel. Why, there-
 ' fore, cannot the *Protestants*, who would
 ' seem to have an honourable esteem of
 ' this

Camb-
 den's *An-*
 nals of
 Eliz. p. 20.

As in
 France.

' this man, be of the same spirit; and
 ' the *Papists* be as much for liberty in
 ' prosperity, as in adversity; seeing the
 ' Lord *Jesus* hath not directed at one
 ' time, to the use of force and violence;
 ' in the work of the Gospel; and at ano-
 ' ther time, if the civil sword be not to be
 ' procur'd, then to use arguments and
 ' persuasions? No, at all times the rule
 ' which his disciples must take notice of,
 ' says, *Whatsoever ye would that men should* Matt. vii.
 ' *do to you, do you even so to them; for* 1, 2.
 ' *with what measure ye mete, it shall be*
 ' *measured to you again.*

' AND because mystery *Babylon* hath
 ' not regarded these sayings, but exercis-
 ' eth all manner of cruelties, and deaths
 ' upon such as cannot believe as she be-
 ' lieves and practises; therefore God will
 ' find out a way to retaliate upon her all
 ' the blood of his servants; *And in the* As at this
 ' *cup which she hath filled, shall it be filled to* day.
 ' *her double. How much she hath glorified* Rev. xviii.
 ' *herself, and lived deliciously, so much tor-* 6, &c.
 ' *ment and sorrow give her: for she saith*
 ' *in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no wi-*
 ' *dow, and shall see no sorrow. Therefore*
 ' *shall her plagues come in one day, death,*
 ' *and mourning and famine, and she shall*
 ' *be utterly burnt with fire, for strong is*
 ' *the Lord God who judgeth her. And the*
 ' *kings of the earth who have committed*
 ' *fornication, and lived deliciously with*
 ' *her,*

‘ her, shall bewail and lament for her. And
‘ her merchants, which are the great men
‘ of the earth, who traffick with her in
‘ things costly, delicate, and of esteem in the
‘ world, and in slaves, and souls of men,
‘ or as by the margin it may be read,
‘ bodies and souls of men, these also shall
‘ mourn over her ; for no man buyeth their
‘ merchandize any more. And thus the
‘ fierceness of God’s wrath will overtake
‘ her, to the sinking of her like a mill-
‘ stone, into the bottom of the sea ; be-
‘ cause the great weight of innocent blood
‘ lieth upon her. For in her will be
‘ found the blood of prophets, and of saints,
‘ and of all that were slain upon the earth.
‘ He that therefore would not partake
‘ with her in any of her plagues, let
‘ him flee from her, and partake not
‘ with her in any of her sins ; one of the
‘ greatest being the persecution of men
‘ for keeping a good conscience. For
‘ except the great God should cease to be
‘ what he is, if men repent not of their
‘ deeds, there will be as certainly punish-
‘ ment, as there is sin ; and it shall not
‘ be the arm of flesh that will be able to
‘ support this strumpet, although many
‘ kingdoms should engage in her quar-
‘ rel ; neither shall the wisdom and pru-
‘ dence of great statesmen be able to keep
‘ off her judgments. For if men should
‘ cease to do any thing against her, yet
‘ God

* God will make the very elements to
 * fight against her; and will contend
 * with her by famine and pestilence, yea;
 * and sword too, altho' she fears it not.
 * For God will stir up the ten Kings to do
 * his will upon her; and by his great
 * works, and judgments that he will ma-
 * nifest in the earth, will he gain him-
 * self a name, and great honour and glory.
 * Even so, *Amen.*

* As it is no ways lawful from the
 * word of God, for christian magistrates,
 * in the days of the Gospel, to destroy
 * and root out the contrary-minded in re-
 * ligious matters, tho' idolaters; so such
 * proceedings may sometimes prove in-
 * consistent, with the very being of nations.
 * For suppose any nation were wholly
 * heathenish idolaters, and the word of
 * God coming in amongst them, should
 * convert the chief magistrate, and one
 * twentieth part of the nation more; must
 * he then, with that twentieth part, de-
 * stroy all the other nineteen, if they will
 * not be converted, but continue in their
 * heathenish idolatry? It cannot possibly
 * be suppos'd to be warrantable. And
 * this reason holds good, likewise, against
 * the rooting up and destroying hereticks
 * out of the world; because if the church
 * proceeds against any of her members to
 * excommunication, the church's deport-
 * ment towards him so cast out, is to be

Matt.
xviii. 17.

the same, as towards a *heathen*. So
 faith Christ himself; *If he neglect to hear*
the church, let him be unto thee as an
heathen man, and a publican; who, for
 the aforesaid reason, is not to be de-
 stroy'd because he is so. And moreover,
 seeing the Lord, who is abundantly
 merciful, many times gives repentance
 not only to the unbelieving idolater, but
 also to the excommunicated person; he
 therefore that destroys the body of such a
 one, doth as much as in him lieth destroy
 his soul also. For the Lord, you see, brings
 into his vineyard *some at the third hour,*
some at the sixth, some at the ninth, and
others at the eleventh. He, therefore,
 that shall destroy any at the third, or
 sixth hour of the life, hinders his con-
 version, that possibly may be call'd at
 the ninth or eleventh hour; and so may
 be charg'd with bringing eternal loss
 and damage to him whom he destroys.

OBJECTION. But whereas the example
 of the Kings of *Israel* and *Juda*, is
 made the greatest pillar to support the
 magistrates proceedings under the Gos-
 pel, in persecuting and punishing the
 contrary-minded in religious matters, or
 such as shall be adjudg'd guilty of blas-
 phemy or idolatry; therefore the second
canon of the *English* Church tells us,
Whosoever shall affirm, that the King's
Majesty hath not the same authority in
causes

causes ecclesiastical, that the godly Kings had amongst the Jews, shall be excommunicated. But if magistrates would defer persecuting any man for religion, until the clergy had prov'd this unto them, it would be happy for the most conscientious under them, and themselves too.

ANSWER. But in answer, we deny not, but the Kings of the Jews had power to punish idolaters, and blasphemers, and some other transgressors of the then law of God : Which power was given them of God, and written in plain precepts, in the *Mosaical* law. But who tells them, that magistrates under the Gospel dispensation, hath such power? Hath the Lord *Jesus* said any such thing? Or if he have, where is it written? Nay, where is it written from the beginning of *Genesis*, to the end of the *Revelations*, that magistrates under the Gospel should have the same power in religious causes, as those under the law? If the judicial law be a rule for magistrates under the Gospel to walk by; then why must it be mangled in pieces, and just so much taken of it as suits their interest, and all the rest rejected? Is it left to magistrates now, or was it ever left to the *Jewish* Kings, to take what part of it they please to be a rule to them, and reject all the rest? And

' it is eminently remarkable, how this
 ' plea is by the Clergy themselves, that
 ' most contend for it, made altogether
 ' invalid. For by it they will stir up
 ' the civil magistrate, to punish those that
 ' dissent from them about the doctrine
 ' and worship, under the notion of a blas-
 ' phemer or heretick; and against such
 ' this law must be held authentick: But
 ' he that *smiteth, or curseth his father or*
 ' *mother, or stealeth a man, or him that*
 ' *committeth adultery, or breaketh the sab-*
 ' *bath,* who were all them sure to be put
 ' to death, by the same judicial law;
 ' yet in these cases they will not tell the
 ' magistrate it is any rule; but it is to
 ' be rejected, because here they cannot
 ' much make it reach their suppos'd here-
 ' ticks, who they are more jealous of,
 ' than any of the afore-mention'd offen-
 ' ders.

' BUT besides; it is observable, that
 ' the Kings of the *Jews*, all the time
 ' they kept to the Law of God, had ad-
 ' vantages to give righteous judgment in
 ' spiritual causes, which magistrates un-
 ' der the Gospel have not. For they had
 ' that standing oracle of God amongst
 ' them, the *Urim* and *Thummim*, together
 ' with extraordinary prophets, which in
 ' all difficult cases they had recourse unto,
 ' and would infallibly direct them to
 ' judge according to the mind of God.

' But

' But when these Kings became wicked,
 ' and lost the benefit of the abovesaid ora-
 ' cle, and extraordinary prophets; then, al-
 ' though they had the written law a-
 ' mongst them, did they run headlong into
 ' such gross mistakes, that the true pro-
 ' phets of the Lord were sure to be per-
 ' secuted; and those prophets which
 ' would prophesy smooth things unto
 ' them, were cherish'd, although many
 ' times, by heark'ning unto them, they
 ' lost their kingdoms, lives, and it is to
 ' be fear'd, souls and all. How grossly
 ' did *Ahab* mistake, when he accounted
 ' *Elijah* the *troubler of Israel*; and caus'd
 ' poor *Micajah* to be imprison'd, and *fed*
 ' *with bread and water of affliction*, be-
 ' cause he would not help to deceive him,
 ' as his 400 * time-serving prophets had
 ' done? So *Jeremiah* was accus'd for
 ' seeking the hurt of his nation, and not
 ' the welfare, and must be put in a miry
 ' dungeon; because he in plainness deli-
 ' ver'd the mind of the Lord to the
 ' King, his princes and people. How,
 ' therefore, can the *Gentile* rulers assure
 ' themselves they do any better than these
 ' rulers did, if they shall persecute the
 ' contrary-minded in religious matters;

* 400 False Prophets must eat bread at *Jezabel's* ta-
 ble, when *Micajah* must have bread and water of afflic-
 tion, *Jer.* xxxviii. 4, 5, 6. as it hath been in our day:

‘ seeing they have neither an infallible ora-
 ‘ cle to enquire at, nor extraordinary pro-
 ‘ phet, nor yet such written precepts, as
 ‘ the *Jews* under the *Mosaical* law had;
 ‘ that did not only direct them what of-
 ‘ fenders should be punish’d, but also
 ‘ what the particular punishment to every
 ‘ several offence should be?

‘ FURTHERMORE, it is very plain,
 ‘ that the Gospel which we live under, is
 ‘ clear another dispensation, far different
 ‘ in all its ordinances and administrations
 ‘ from the law; under which the Lord
 ‘ *Jesus* is the only law-giver. Who doth
 ‘ not, as *Moses*, proceed against the trans-
 ‘ gressors of his precepts by external force
 ‘ and power, to the destroying them in
 ‘ their bodies and estates in this life;
 ‘ but in long-suffering waits on men,
 ‘ *not willing they should perish, but rather*
 ‘ *that they should repent and be saved.* And
 ‘ when any continues in disobedience to
 ‘ the Gospel, his punishment is eternal in
 ‘ the world to come. Therefore, as the
 ‘ Apostle *Paul* saith, *Judge nothing be-*
 ‘ *fore the time, until the Lord come; who*
 ‘ *will bring to light hidden things of darkness,*
 ‘ *and will make manifest the counsels of the*
 ‘ *hearts; and then shall every man have*
 ‘ *praise of God.* The same Apostle testi-
 ‘ fieth of himself, *that he was a blasphemer*
 ‘ *and persecutor; and if the mind of God*
 ‘ *had been, that he should have suffer’d*
 ‘ *death*

1 Theff. i.

9.

2 Pet. i. 9.

Acts xvii.

31.

1 Tim. i.

13.

‘ death in that condition, how should he
 ‘ have had repentance given him, and
 ‘ been such a glorious instrument in the
 ‘ church, as afterwards he was?

‘ AND it is too well known, that the
 ‘ *Jews* are the great blasphemers against
 ‘ our Lord *Jesus Christ*, that are on earth.
 ‘ Yet it is not the mind of the Lord,
 ‘ they should be destroy’d from the face
 ‘ of the earth. For how then should
 ‘ the scripture be fulfilled, wherein God
 ‘ hath promis’d to call them, and make
 ‘ them the most glorious nation on the
 ‘ earth? Or how can they be converted,
 ‘ if they be not permitted, where the
 ‘ Gospel is preach’d? We speak not this
 ‘ in favour of any blasphemy, for our
 ‘ souls abhor it; but because all men that
 ‘ have power in their hands, might be as
 ‘ tender of the lives of men, as the most
 ‘ righteous and holy God is: Who would
 ‘ have men be imitators of himself, in
 ‘ mercy and goodness towards others;
 ‘ *and maketh his sun to rise on the evil,*
 ‘ *and on the good, and sendeth rain on the*
 ‘ *just and unjust.*

‘ IF it shall still be objected, that it is
 ‘ inconsistent with the safety and well-
 ‘ being of any nation, to allow or tole-
 ‘ rate any more ways of worship than
 ‘ one: We answer, experience hath
 ‘ taught the contrary to several countries
 ‘ of *Europe*; as *France*, and the *United*

' Provinces, and several countries of Ger-
 ' many. Besides, those that say they are
 ' the servants of God, should conclude
 ' that to be most for the safety and
 ' well-being of their countries, which is
 ' most agreeable to his heavenly will, de-
 ' clar'd in his word. It was the ruin of
 ' *Jeroboam*, and almost all the Kings of
 ' *Israel*, that succeeded him, that they
 ' would rather act by corrupt principles
 ' of state policy, than by the word which
 ' God had spoken. And although God
 ' had rent ten tribes from *Reboboam*, and
 ' given them to him, yet he wanted faith
 ' to believe his new kingdom could any
 ' ways be secur'd to him, or kept from
 ' going back to the lineage of *David*, un-
 ' less he devis'd some new way of wor-
 ' ship, to keep the people in their own
 ' land. And for his so doing, he thought
 ' he had much reason of state: For what
 ' *Prince* now will conclude it good po-
 ' licy, to permit his people to go up
 ' yearly, into his enemies chief city to
 ' worship; but will conclude it to be a
 ' notable way to alienate the affections
 ' of his subjects from him, to his great
 ' prejudice and detriment? Thus *Jeroboam*
 ' reasons, as by his words appear.
 ' Take them at length. And *Jeroboam*
 ' said in his heart, Now shall the kingdom
 ' return to the house of *David*: If this
 ' people go up to do sacrifice in the house

1 Kings
 xii. 26,
 27, 28.

of

of the Lord at Jerusalem, then shall the
 heart of this people turn again unto their
 lord, even unto Rehoboam king of Ju-
 dah; and they shall kill me. Whereup-
 on the king took counsel, and made two
 calves of gold; and said to them, it is too
 much for you to go up to Jerusalem; be-
 hold thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee
 out of the land of Egypt. Which policy
 of his procur'd this event, which God
 denounc'd against him; saying, *I will* ^{1 Kings}
bring evil upon the house of Jeroboam, ^{xiv. 10,}
and will cut off from Jeroboam him that ^{11.}
pisseth against the wall, and him that is
shut up, and left in Israel; and will take
away the remnant of the house of Jero-
boam, as a man taketh away dung, till
it be all gone. And for the sin where-
 in he made Israel to sin, is he branded
 to all posterity. But on the other hand,
 had he permitted the people to go up to
 Jerusalem to worship, and kept the ap-
 pointments of God, tho' seemingly a-
 gainst his present interest; then had the
 promise of God been made good unto
 him, which the prophet *Abijah* declar'd
 long before he came to the kingdom;
 saying, *And it shall be, if thou wilt* ^{Chap. xi.}
hearken unto all that I command thee, and ^{38.}
wilt walk in my ways, and do that is
right in my sight, to keep my statutes
and commandments, as David my servant
did; that I will be with thee, and build
thee

Psa. ii.
10, 11,
12.

‘ *thee a sure house, as I built for David,*
‘ *and will give Israel unto thee. Which*
‘ *things were written for the example of*
‘ *such, as should come after. Be wise now*
‘ *therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye*
‘ *judges of the earth. Serve the Lord*
‘ *with fear, and rejoice with trembling.*
‘ *Kiss the son, lest he be angry, and ye pe-*
‘ *rish from the way, when his wrath is*
‘ *kindled but a little; blessed are all they*
‘ *that put their trust in him.*

‘ WE shall take leave to mind and
‘ keep in memory the *liberty of tender*
‘ *consciences*, which the King’s Majesty
‘ declar’d from *Breda*; and shall yet live
‘ in hope and expectation to be partakers
‘ of the benefit thereof; being reasona-
‘ bly persuaded, that the same principle
‘ that led his Majesty to assert such *Chri-*
‘ *stian Liberty*, still remains with him, to
‘ the allowing and protecting his peace-
‘ able subjects, in their religious concern-
‘ ments: Humbly praying, that God
‘ may order his heart, and the hearts of
‘ his great council, to proclaim *liberty* by
‘ a law, and *the opening of the prisons to*
‘ *them that are bound*. That these de-
‘ sires may not seem novel, or suggested
‘ by us in the day of our distress, we
‘ have herewith inserted the testimony of
‘ the ancients; which we have collected
‘ out of Dr. *Jer. Taylor’s liberty of pro-*
‘ *phesying*, which we pray may be impar-
‘ tially consider’d.

' IT is observable, that restraining of ^{Epist. p. 18.} liberty, imposing upon other mens understanding, being masters of their consciences, and lording it over their faith, came in with the retinue and train of Antichrist: That is, they came as other abuses and corruptions of the church did, by reason of the iniquity of the times, and the cooling of the first heats of christianity, and the increase of interest, and the abatement of christian simplicity; when the church's fortune grew better, and her sons grew worse, and some of her fathers worst of all. For in the first 300 years, there was no sign of persecuting any man for his opinion, though at that time there were very horrid opinions commenc'd: For they then were assaulted by new sects, which destroy'd the common principles of nature, of christianity, of innocence, and publick society. And they who us'd all the means, christian and spiritual, for their disprovement and conviction, thought not of using corporal force, otherwise than by blaming such proceedings. To which I add; that all wise princes, till they were overborn with faction, or solicited by peevish persons, gave *toleration to differing sects, &c.*

' AND the experience which *Christianity* hath had in this last age, is argument

‘ gument enough, that *toleration of differing opinions* is, so far from disturbing
 ‘ the publick peace, or destroying the interest of princes and commonwealths,
 ‘ that it does advantage to the publick. It
 ‘ secures peace, because there is not so
 ‘ much as the pretence of religion left to
 ‘ persons to contend for it, being already indulg’d to them.

‘ WHEN the *French* fought against
 ‘ the *Hugonots*, the spilling of her own
 ‘ blood was argument enough, of the im-
 ‘ prudence of that way of promoting re-
 ‘ ligion. But since she hath given per-
 ‘ mission to them, the world is witness,
 ‘ how prosperous she hath been ever
 ‘ since. Indeed, there is great reason for
 ‘ princes to give *toleration to disagreeing*
 ‘ *persons*, whose opinions by fair means
 ‘ cannot be alter’d. For if the persons
 ‘ be confident, they will serve God ac-
 ‘ cording to their persuasions: And if
 ‘ they be publickly prohibited, they will
 ‘ privately convene.

‘ AND it is also a part of Christian
 ‘ Religion, that the liberty of mens con-
 ‘ sciences should be preserv’d in all things,
 ‘ where God hath not made a limit, or
 ‘ set a restraint; that the soul of man
 ‘ should be free, and acknowledge no
 ‘ master but *Jesus Christ*; that matters
 ‘ spiritual should not be restrain’d by pu-
 ‘ nishments corporal; and that the same
 ‘ meekness

‘ meekness and charity should be preserv’d
‘ in the promotion of christianity; that
‘ gave it foundation, and increment; and
‘ firmness in the first publication; that
‘ conclusions should not be more dogma-
‘ tical than the virtual resolution and effi-
‘ cacy of the premise; and that the per-
‘ sons should not more certainly be con-
‘ demn’d, than their opinions confuted;
‘ and lastly, that the infirmity of man
‘ and difficulty of things should be both
‘ put in ballance, to make abatement in
‘ the definitive sentences against mens
‘ persons.

‘ AND therefore the best of men, and
‘ most glorious of princes, were always
‘ ready to give *toleration*, but never to make
‘ executions for matters disputable: As
‘ *Eusebius*, in his second book of the life
‘ of *Constantine*, reports.

‘ ALSO King *James*, writing to the
‘ state of the *United Provinces*, dated the
‘ 6th of *March* 1613, among other
‘ things, saith; that you charge them to
‘ maintain peace, by bearing one with
‘ another, in such differences of opinions
‘ and judgments. The like counsel in
‘ the divisions of *Germany*, at the first
‘ reformation, was thought reasonable by
‘ the Emperor *Ferdinando*, and his ex-
‘ cellent son *Maximilian*. For they had
‘ observ’d that violence did exasperate,
‘ was unblest, unsuccessful, and unrea-
‘ sonable;

A.D. 525.

' sonable; and therefore they made de-
 ' crees of *toleration*, and appointed tem-
 ' pers and expedients to be drawn up by
 ' discreet persons. And *Emanuel Philibert*,
 ' Duke of *Savoy*, repenting of his war
 ' undertaken for religion against the *Pe-*
 ' *demontani*, promised them *toleration*,
 ' and was as good as his word. As much
 ' is done by the nobility of *Polonia*. So
 ' that the best princes and best bishops
 ' gave *toleration* and impunities. Also in
 ' *Rome* itself, till the time of *Justinian*
 ' the Emperor, the *Catholicks* and *Nova-*
 ' *tians* had churches indifferently permit-
 ' ted: And the *Popes* were the first
 ' preachers of force and violence in mat-
 ' ters of religion; and yet it came not so
 ' far as death. But the first that preach'd
 ' that doctrine was *Dominick*, the founder
 ' of the begging order of *Fryers*; the
 ' *Fryer's* preachers; in memory of which
 ' the inquisition is intrusted only to the
 ' *Fryers* of his order.

' IN *England*, altho' the *Pope* had as
 ' great power here as any where, yet
 ' there were no executions for matter of
 ' opinion, until *Henry IV.* who, because
 ' he usurp'd the crown, was willing by
 ' all means to endear the clergy, by de-
 ' stroying their enemies, that so he might
 ' be sure of them to all his purposes.
 ' And, indeed, it may become them well
 ' enough, *who are wiser in their genera-*
 ' *tion*

* *tion than the children of light:* It may
‘ possibly serve the policies of evil per-
‘ sons, but never the pure and chaste de-
‘ signs of christianity.

‘ BY this time I hope it will not be
‘ thought reasonable to say; he that teach-
‘ eth mercy to erring persons, teaches in-
‘ differency in religion; unless so many
‘ fathers, and so many churches, and the
‘ best of Emperors, and all the world,
‘ till they were abused by tyranny, po-
‘ pery, and faction, did teach indifferen-
‘ cy. For I have shew’d, that christiani-
‘ ty does not punish corporally, persons
‘ erring spiritually; but, indeed, *popery*
‘ does; and hath done ever since they
‘ were taught it by their *St. Dominick*.

‘ AND yet after all this, I have some-
‘ thing to exempt myself from the cla-
‘ mour of this objection. For let all er-
‘ rors be as much and as zealously sup-
‘ press’d as may be; but let it be done
‘ by such means, as are properinstru-
‘ ments of their suppression, by preach-
‘ ing and disputation (so that neither of
‘ them breed disturbance) by charity and
‘ sweetness, by holiness of life, and as-
‘ siduity of exhortation, by the word of
‘ God and prayer; For these ways are
‘ most natural, most prudent, most peace-
‘ able and effectual. Only let not men
‘ be hasty in calling every dislik’d opi-
‘ nion by the name of heresy; and when
‘ they

‘ they have resolv’d that they will call it
 ‘ it so, let them use the erring person
 ‘ *like a brother* ; not beat him like a dog,
 ‘ or convince him with a gibbet, or vex
 ‘ him out of his understanding and per-
 ‘ suasion.

‘ WHY are we so zealous against those
 ‘ we call *Hereticks*, and yet great friends
 ‘ with drunkards, and fornicators, and
 ‘ swearers, and intemperate and idle per-
 ‘ sons? I am certain that a drunkard is as
 ‘ contrary to God, and lives as contrary to
 ‘ the laws of christianity, as a *Heretick* :
 ‘ And I am also sure, that I know what
 ‘ drunkenness is ; but I am not sure, that
 ‘ such an opinion is heresy, &c. Thus
 ‘ far Dr. *Taylor*, now Bishop of *Down*.

‘ NOW whereas we have given pub-
 ‘ lickly an account of the former ages, in
 ‘ their carriages and behaviours towards
 ‘ persons differing in judgment in religi-
 ‘ ous things ; we take the leave humbly
 ‘ to desire, and beg the same privilege,
 ‘ as was granted unto the *Waderdopers*,
 ‘ by the Prince and State of the *Nether-*
 ‘ *lands* : Which was to admit a publick
 ‘ dispute, between the ministers and the
 ‘ persons aforesaid, in the presence of the
 ‘ Prince, which we humbly conceive is
 ‘ but a reasonable request.’

IN this year was publish’d a small piece,
 written by Dr. *John Griffith*, a *Baptist*
 mini-

minister, who afterwards suffer'd a long imprisonment in *Newgate* for the cause of Christ; entitled, *A complaint of the oppress'd against oppressors: or, The unjust and arbitrary proceedings of some Soldiers and Justices, against some sober godly persons in and near London, who now lie in stinking goals for the testimony of a good conscience; with some reasons why they cannot swear allegiance to obtain their liberty.* It is introduc'd thus:

John Griffith's complaint of the oppress'd against oppressors.

‘ **T**HE unjust proceedings of some
 ‘ in present power, against many
 ‘ in this nation fearing God, cannot but
 ‘ be manifest to such sober men, that
 ‘ do or will take a view of the same. I
 ‘ having knowledge of the sufferings of
 ‘ many godly persons, especially in and
 ‘ about *London*, whom their very adver-
 ‘ saries cannot blemish justly with the
 ‘ least spot of infamy, dare not but
 ‘ let the world know the innocency of
 ‘ the men, and the tyranny of their op-
 ‘ pressors. And in what I shall say, I
 ‘ dare appeal to the consciences of all so-
 ‘ ber and judicious persons, of what per-
 ‘ suasion soever, except the proud *prelate*;
 ‘ whether it be not *tyranny* to the height,
 ‘ for men to be seiz'd and taken out of
 ‘ their beds, at midnight by soldiers, in
 ‘ a hostile manner, with their swords
 ‘ drawn; by means of which their wives

' wives and children have been much af-
 ' frightened to their great detriment in point
 ' of health; and this done in a time of
 ' peace, and without warrant from any,
 ' no not so much as a warrant from a Ju-
 ' stice of Peace. Others taken from their
 ' peaceable meetings, when they have
 ' been in the Lord's service in a publick
 ' manner, the doors being open for all
 ' that would come in to see what they
 ' did, and hear what they said. Others at-
 ' tack'd as they have pass'd along the streets,
 ' about their lawful employments. And
 ' all this done by soldiers, without war-
 ' rant from any, and by them carried be-
 ' fore some men call'd *Justices*, but such
 ' only in name and title, nothing so in
 ' truth.'

John Stur-
 gion's plea
 for tolera-
 tion.

IN this year also, Mr. *John Stur-
 gion*, a *Baptist*, wrote a Tract, which he entitled,
*A plea for toleration of opinions and per-
 suasions in matters of religion differing
 from the Church of England: Humbly
 presented to the King's most excellent Ma-
 jesty.* Which he introduces in this man-
 ner:

' *May it please your Majesty,*

' **I** HAVE had strong impulses upon
 ' my mind, for some days, to present
 ' this paper to your Majesty. And I
 ' humbly hope it will not be made to
 ' suffer

' suffer much under an evil resentment;
 ' upon its presentation to your hand,
 ' because it bears a testimony of the
 ' *Author's* good affection to your roy-
 ' al self. For my witness is on high;
 ' that I did not write this paper because I
 ' love you not, because I honour you
 ' not, because I own you not, in your
 ' royal capacity of magistracy and civil
 ' power. God knoweth, that you have
 ' not any subject more christianly real or
 ' cordial unto you. I humbly beg, that
 ' your Majesty would be pleas'd so far to
 ' deny yourself, as to read it with pati-
 ' ence, and to judge of it as you shall
 ' see cause.'

AFTER some reasonings with his Ma-
 jesty, respecting the prohibition of all
meetings whatsoever, he thus expresseth
 himself:

' AND may it further please your Ma- P. 7.
 ' jesty, to consider your afflicted and in-
 ' nocent subjects, how they have been
 ' hall'd from their peaceable habitations,
 ' and thrust into *prisons*, almost in all
 ' *counties* in *England*; and many are still
 ' detain'd, to the utter undoing of them-
 ' selves and families: And most of them
 ' are poor men, whose livelihood, under
 ' God, depends upon the labour of their
 ' own hands. So that they lie under
 ' more than an ordinary calamity; there
 ' being

‘ being so many thrust into little rooms
 ‘ together, that they are an annoyance each
 ‘ to other ; especially in the *City of Lon-*
 ‘ *don*, where the *Lord-Mayor* crouds
 ‘ them very close together ; that it hath
 ‘ been observ’d, the keepers have com-
 ‘ plain’d they have had too many guests ;
 ‘ and whilst they suffer there, some of
 ‘ their wives and tender babes want bread
 ‘ at home.’

THEN he lays before his Majesty six reasons against restraining, or using force in matters of religion : And says,

P. 17.

‘ Now if your Majesty will but con-
 ‘ sider, what it is which the *baptized peo-*
 ‘ *ple*, and divers others, have made such
 ‘ earnest suit to your Majesty for : It is
 ‘ not for *titles of honour*, nor for *places*
 ‘ *of great profit*, either in a *civil* or *eccle-*
 ‘ *siastical capacity* : But only this is their
 ‘ request and humble desire, that we may
 ‘ serve the Lord without molestation, in
 ‘ that faith and order, which we have
 ‘ learn’d in the Holy Scripture ; giving
 ‘ honour to our King, to whom honour
 ‘ belongs, fear to whom fear, tribute to
 ‘ whom tribute belong ; in every thing,
 ‘ as far as we have abilities, to render to
 Rom. xiii. ‘ God the things that are God’s, and to
 7. ‘ the magistrate the things that are
 ‘ his.’

A SUDDEN storm arising now, from I Ellwood's
life. know not what surmise of a plot, and thereby danger arising to the government; the meetings of the Dissenters were broken up throughout the city, and such as were there found, were put into prison. Among whom Dr. *John Griffith*, author of the afore-mention'd complaint of the oppress'd, was apprehended and committed to *Newgate*, where he lay seventeen months for no other crime but preaching to a congregation of *Protestants*.

THIS storm was not confin'd to the city, but also reach'd the country. For the worthy Mr. *Thomas Grantham*, and some others, were taken from their meeting at *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, by some soldiers, who lodg'd them all night in a publick inn: Where they continu'd swearing and cursing incessantly, to the no small grief of Mr. *Grantham* and his companions, he and two more only being detain'd, and the rest being dismiss'd. In the morning he with his companions were convey'd to the common goal at *Lincoln*, and there confin'd; where they met with one Mr. *Cox*, who had been committed there before them. In this place were they detain'd till the assizes, without so much as the least pretence of any crime laid to their charge. It was rumour'd about by some, that Mr. *Grantham* was a *Pa-*

pist; and several of the clergy, who came to see him during his confinement, affirm'd to his face that he was a *Jesuit*. In order to remove this slander, he publish'd a controversy he had with a *Roman Catholick*; and entitled it, *The Baptist against the Papist*. By which prudent conduct he happily put an end to that scandalous report; tho' it was the ordinary aspersions cast on those of the *Baptist persuasion*, and then design'd not so much to bring reproach on their persons as their profession. However at the assizes no one appearing, and no crime being alledg'd against them, they were dismiss'd: And they return'd to the churches to which they belong'd, who express'd no little joy for their deliverance, after fifteen months imprisonment. During this confinement, Mr. *Grantbam* wrote his book, entitled, *The prisoner against the prelate: or, a dialogue between the common Goal of Lincoln, and the Cathedral*. From several passages, in which it appears, that the sufferings of the *Baptists* were numerous, the persecutions against them, were carried on with great vehemence by the clergy, who thought it not sufficient to imprison their persons, and take away their liberty, unless they could also take away their good names. They therefore spread several scandalous reports about them, as if the persons

they

they injur'd were *Papists, Jesuits*, and immoral persons. However their demeanour was so peaceable, and their behaviour in prison so edifying, they being very much employ'd in praying to, and praising God; and in holy conversation with one another, or private meditations; that they gain'd the reputation of being godly men, who suffer'd for conscience sake: while the clergy were look'd on as persecutors of those, who were better than themselves; and as having an eye in what they did more to their own interest than the honour of Christ.

THE Mayor of *Dover*, Mr. *John Home*, and the Justices there, began very early to shew themselves, and their zeal against their dissenting neighbours, more particularly the *Baptists*. Upon which, one who stil'd himself *a poor subject*, wrote the following letter to them.

*To the honour'd the Mayor, and Justices
of this town.*

WE desire to let you know, yet *Manuscript*
once more, that we do acknow- *penes me.*
ledge your power, and do desire to
submit unto it, so far as we are engag'd
by the rule of truth. But we do hum-
bly conceive, that your power doth not
K 4 reach

‘ reach so far as to tie our consciences, to
‘ worship our God according to your man-
‘ ner. We must not see with your eyes,
‘ but we must worship God according to
‘ that light, that he hath been pleas’d to
‘ give unto us from the scriptures of truth.
‘ But haply you may say, that you have
‘ the scriptures as well as we, and more
‘ learning than we have to understand
‘ them. And so far we may agree, that
‘ you have the scriptures, and more human
‘ learning than we: But we must intreat
‘ you to excuse us in this, that we dare
‘ not worship the true God in a false
‘ manner, according to the traditions of
‘ men, according to the revolutions of
‘ ages; as we humbly conceive you do,
‘ with the rest of the nations, tho’ not
‘ in such a gross manner of idolatry as
‘ some other nations do. But we do not
‘ know how soon you may be as vile as
‘ the worst of them. We have great cause
‘ to fear such a thing, because in one
‘ thing you are more vile already; in
‘ that there is liberty given by some o-
‘ ther nations, and also in this nation,
‘ more than in this place. We intreat
‘ you in the bowels of love to consider
‘ of it. We know you have knowledge,
‘ but we intreat you to take heed you be
‘ not puff’d up in your knowledge;
‘ which if you be, it will cause you to
‘ be

‘ be so blind, that you will act quite
‘ contrary to truth, and to your own
‘ knowledge. We hope you will not be
‘ offended, because you know it is the
‘ exhortation of the Apostle *Paul*, and
‘ it is his testimony, that *knowledge* will
‘ *puff up*, if there be not good care taken.
‘ So we shall leave at present, these
‘ things to your judgment and considera-
‘ tion.

‘ If any friend, says he, seem to be offend-
‘ ed with my beginning, and judge me to
‘ offend in giving such titles unto men,
‘ judging it to be flattering titles ; I de-
‘ sire to be excus’d, inasmuch as I have
‘ no intent to flatter. But as at present, I
‘ judge it my duty to give that honour
‘ unto men in their places, as they are
‘ set ; so I judge not without the provi-
‘ dence of God, or at least, God doth
‘ suffer it so to be, that they have the
‘ power ; and I am bound to honour
‘ them, however they may be persuaded
‘ to persecute me, and think it their duty
‘ so to do, and judge me to be an here-
‘ tick. But that I must leave to God,
‘ that will judge all in righteousness, with-
‘ out respect of persons, powers and sub-
‘ jects, rich and poor ; there will be no
‘ respect with God in judgment. There-
‘ fore whatsoever the judgment of some
‘ may be, as touching the civil honour
‘ and titles belonging to men in power ;

‘ I desire to be excus’d, in giving to man,
 ‘ that belongs to him in his place, altho’
 ‘ I may suffer never so much evil at
 ‘ their hands.

‘ By me *James Atkins*, in the
 ‘ behalf of us all, that are like
 ‘ to be prohibited of our liber-
 ‘ ties, by the envy of some in-
 ‘ struments, that are soliciting
 ‘ the magistrate to that pur-
 ‘ pose.’

THE magistrates of *Dover* were very severe upon these people. They took them from their meeting-house in the year 1660, and committed them to prison. After keeping them there four and twenty days, they were admitted to bail, paying their charges; and appearing at the next *sessions*, were forbid to meet any more at their meeting-house, and allow’d to meet together in one of the churches. The which they did every Lord’s-day for about the space of five months, meeting together about eleven in the morning, and continuing till about three in the afternoon. This privilege being denied them by the succeeding *Mayor*, they assembled again at their own meeting-place. The *Mayor* disturb’d them, took their names, and warn’d them to appear at the *hall*. They appear’d, and four of them, *viz.*

Thomas

Thomas Williams, Christopher Streetind, John Hales and James Houson, were committed to prison. The next Lord's-day the *Mayor* disturb'd them again, took their names, and sent six who were country-men to prison; *viz. Thomas Partridge, John Finis, Edmund Finis, Simon Loveless, John Barrows, and John Hobbs*: And the next Lord's-day after sent four more. The *Mayor* disturb'd them a fourth time, and then committed them all, being ten in number. At the *Quarter-sessions*, a bill of indictment was found against them, some travers'd it, others submitted to the court, and the rest were remitted to prison again.

THESE hardships under which they groan'd, at length stirr'd them up to seek for mercy from the higher powers: And thereupon they drew up a petition to the King, and soon after another to the Duke of *York*. I have plac'd them together; and they are in their own words, as followeth:

To the supreme magistrate of these Nations, Charles II. King of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging, together with his honourable Privy-Council.

THE humble petition of many of those poor suffering distress'd people, falsely call'd *Anabaptists*, in the behalf

*Manu-
script pe-
nes me.*

‘ behalf of themselves and many others,
‘ differing from those called *Church of*
‘ *England*, in matter of faith, and also
‘ form of worship; who, notwithstanding,
‘ do walk in all good conscience to-
‘ wards God, and in sincerity of heart,
‘ do also acknowledge the King to be
‘ chief in all temporal things, and there-
‘ fore do and shall yield, in all temporal
‘ things, due obedience unto him, *not only*
‘ *for wrath but for conscience sake*; and so
‘ in all things shall give unto the King that
‘ which is his, and unto God that which
‘ only belongs unto himself.

‘ Now therefore, may it please your
‘ Highness to lay to heart what hath
‘ been formerly in humility presented
‘ unto you, by way of petition and ad-
‘ vice relating to liberty of conscience,
‘ the innocent desires of your peaceable
‘ subjects; and let our lives, and the lives
‘ of our wives and children be precious
‘ in your eyes, for we are free-born
‘ *Englishmen*, and one flesh as the flesh
‘ of others. O be pleased to consider,
‘ that those that have had the greatest
‘ means of light, and have been as zea-
‘ lous as any, yet they have pluckt up
‘ the wheat instead of tares, and have kil-
‘ led the most precious children of God
‘ instead of the children of the wicked
‘ one. O let our words be acceptable
‘ unto you, *for the wisdom that comes*
‘ *from*

‘ *from above is first pure*, and teacheth all
‘ men to do as they would be done
‘ unto ; *it is peaceable, gentle, and easy to*
‘ *be intreated, full of mercy* ; yea, the
‘ great things of God’s law, *are judgment,*
‘ *mercy and faith.* Moreover, the Gospel
‘ *is the Gospel of peace* ; and so the Apo-
‘ stles made it their work, not to force,
‘ but to persuade men. And as our *Savi-*
‘ *our* faith, that five should be in one house,
‘ three against two, and two against three,
‘ and so commonly the poor sheep and
‘ lambs of Christ have much tribula-
‘ tion, but in him having peace they
‘ bear it patiently. O be pleased there-
‘ fore to consider, how disagreeable it
‘ is with christianity, to bring tribula-
‘ tion upon any for conscience sake, see-
‘ ing all things in worship must be done
‘ in faith and love. But nevertheless,
‘ your peaceable subjects are liable to
‘ the penalty of such laws and statutes,
‘ as enjoin such service and conformity,
‘ as in conscience to God we cannot do
‘ in faith and love ; the penalty of which
‘ statutes are such, as in a little time,
‘ if prosecuted, will work out ruin to
‘ ourselves and families.

‘ Now here, we humbly beseech
‘ your Highness, to take into serious
‘ consideration the deplorable condition of
‘ your peaceable Subjects, and to grant unto
‘ us what you were pleased to promise,
‘ upon

‘ upon the word of a King, at *Bredd*,
 ‘ and also since your arrival; not only
 ‘ by your declaration for ecclesiastical
 ‘ affairs, but also at several other times
 ‘ to several of us, when we made our
 ‘ addressees unto you; and therefore we
 ‘ do crave these things with the more
 ‘ boldness and confidence, forasmuch as
 ‘ innocency is found in us, and against
 ‘ the King and his Government we
 ‘ have done no harm, whatever may be
 ‘ reported to the contrary, to our re-
 ‘ proach. These premises considered,
 ‘ we pray, we may not be interrupted
 ‘ in our worshipping the God of Hea-
 ‘ ven, as we are taught in his holy
 ‘ word, which indeed we do prize
 ‘ above all the world. The which, if
 ‘ we shall enjoy, will greatly encourage
 ‘ us to pray and praise the Lord on
 ‘ your behalf, which *rules the hearts*
 ‘ *of Kings, as the rivers of water.*

‘ B U T if notwithstanding what hath
 ‘ been and is desired, we shall be denied,
 ‘ that which we humbly conceive, the
 ‘ law of God and Nature doth allow
 ‘ us; yet we shall, in the strength of
 ‘ the Lord, patiently suffer what shall
 ‘ be inflicted upon us. *For the weapons*
 ‘ *of our warfare are not carnal, but spi-*
 ‘ *ritual and mighty, to the pulling down of*
 ‘ *strong-holds.*

To his Highness the Duke of York.

‘ **F**ORASMUCH as the all-disposing
‘ hand of God’s providence hath
‘ brought your Highness into this place;
‘ we hope it is, that by you, as a fit
‘ instrument to so good a work, to de-
‘ liver us, his harmless people, and
‘ peaceable subjects to the King. And
‘ inasmuch as what is done unto us, is
‘ done in your name; we humbly lay
‘ before you, that many of us inhabi-
‘ tants of this town, [*Dover*] for the space
‘ of six weeks, have been imprisoned, for
‘ no other cause, but for our peaceable
‘ meeting to worship our God, and
‘ thereby are brought into great straits;
‘ some of our families, being numerous,
‘ whose daily supply dependeth on our
‘ daily labour; so that our wants and
‘ straits are like to be very great, by
‘ reason of our present sufferings. And
‘ forasmuch as the like is not done to
‘ our friends in other places, but the
‘ King is pleased to protect them as
‘ his peaceable subjects, we think it
‘ hard measure to be thus dealt withal,
‘ our offence being no more criminal
‘ than theirs.

‘ **T**HE premises considered, we hum-
‘ bly intreat your Highness to shew mer-
‘ cy to us, your peaceable yet oppressed
‘ subjects, in setting us at liberty, that
‘ the

' the cries of our little ones and fami-
 ' lies, by reason of our sufferings, do
 ' not provoke the great God of mercy
 ' and truth against this land of our na-
 ' tivity. And if you please to answer
 ' our desires, we are sure God will re-
 ' ward you an hundred fold; since he
 ' hath promised, that he that giveth
 ' but a cup of cold water to any of his
 ' suffering people, shall not lose his
 ' reward; and you will engage us so
 ' much the more, both to speak well
 ' of, and pray for you. In this reso-
 ' lution we subscribe ourselves, in the
 ' innocency of our souls, in the sight
 ' of God,

James Houson John Finis
 Simon Loveless Tho. Partridge
 John Hales Tho. Williams.

From the Prison in Dover, the
 17th day of the 9th month, 1661.

The perse- IN the year 1662, was published a
 cution of small pamphlet, intituled, *Behold a Cry*;
 the Bap- or, *a true relation of the inhuman and violent*
 tists about London. *outrages of divers Soldiers, Constables and*
others, practised upon many of the Lord's
people, commonly, tho' falsely called Anabap-
tists, at their several meetings in and about
London, and is thus introduced :

T H E

THE sundry and divers abuses that hath been offered time after time to the free-born people of *England*, contrary to *Magna Charta*, and the *Petition of right* and all the known laws of the land, the declaration and proclamation of the King that now is, we cannot suppose the nation wholly ignorant of. But how inhumanly they have been used, and with what violence soldiers and others have proceeded in several places where they have, in the fear of the Lord, been assembled: Their usual manner being to come with soldiers, which commonly were most of them rude youths or mercenary men, of the ruder and viler sort; and they with their muskets, and some with their swords drawn, to the affrighting of women and children, breaking and spoiling their goods, doing violence to their persons, by pulling, halling, and beating some of them, the which they may not understand. Now that all, both *Magistrates* and People, may be rightly informed, the mouth of falsehood and scandal stopped, and such abuses redressed; we shall, in particular, give a brief hint of some of them as followeth:

IN *June* 1661, there came divers rude soldiers, wicked, swearing, and

Vol II. L de-

Brick-lane ' debauched persons, to the meeting-
 Meeting- ' house in *Brick-lane* near *White-Chapel*,
 house di- ' and laid hands on several men, to the
 sturb'd and ' number of more than *twenty*; who,
 more than ' in a peaceable manner, demanded of
 20 seiz'd. ' them their warrant for so doing, but
 ' they would not shew them any, which
 Wm. Caf- ' one *William Caswell* seeing, he said to
 well sorely ' this purpose, that if they had a warrant
 abused. ' he would obey it; but if they had
 ' none they should carry him for he
 ' would not go: With that they beat
 ' him with their hangers about the head,
 ' and pulled him along by force; and
 ' sometimes taking him up between
 ' three or four of them, and then let-
 ' ting him fall with violence into the
 ' dirt; pulling by great force his sto-
 ' mach and breast against the rails; inso-
 ' much that with blows and falls he is
 ' deprived of health to this day. And
 ' when there were several of the actors
 ' of this tragedy arrested, *and sute be-
 ' ing, according to law, commenced a-
 ' gainst them, and the persons abused
 ' intending to go on, they were sudden-
 ' ly surprized and prevented by *John*
 ' *Robinson*, who granted a warrant to
 ' seize

* The King in his proclamation, *Jan.* 10, 1660, declared that if any should be so hardy as to seize the persons of any without warrant, &c. that then they should be left open to the law to be proceeded against, and receive according to their demerit.

' seize the body of *Thomas Hull* and Tho. Hull
 ' the abovesaid *William Caswel*. The and his
 ' said *Thomas Hull* being taken in the friends who
 ' street, by virtue of the abovesaid war- came to bail
 ' rant, and carried before *John Robin-* him, both
 ' *son*, who in a fury demanded how he imprisoned
 ' durst arrest his soldiers, and would by John
 ' not take bail, but sent him to *New-* Robinson,
 ' *gate*, and one with him, who only a great
 ' came along with his friend, the said prosecutor.
 ' *Thomas Hull*, and desired to bail him;
 ' where they both lay about ten or twelve
 ' days before they could be bailed, and
 ' were held bound from sessions to ses-
 ' sions, for a long time after, before they
 ' could be discharged. So little was the
 ' King's proclamation regarded by *John*
 ' *Robinson*.

' Secondly, O N the 20th of *October*
 ' 1661, there came a parcel of the afore-
 ' said rude soldiers to the meeting at
 ' *Brick-lane*, and took away one that
 ' was then preaching. Some there de-
 ' fired them to shew their warrant for
 ' their so doing: One lieutenant *Wilton*
 ' shewed his commission as he was an
 ' officer; which being read, he said,
 ' that was sufficient. One answering,
 ' said, that was not sufficient, he ought
 ' to have a particular warrant, with the
 ' name of the person seiz'd expressed in
 ' it, and under the hand and seal of
 ' some one justice or more. One en-

‘ sign *Spike* answered, if that were not
 ‘ sufficient, it was sufficient, Sir *John*
 ‘ *Robinson*, as he called him, bid them
 ‘ by word of mouth to do what they
 ‘ did. To which was answered, that
 ‘ a verbal order from him, or any other
 ‘ justice else, was not according to law
 ‘ in such a case, neither did the law in-
 ‘ title them to be executioners of it;
 ‘ but if they had a warrant, as they
 ‘ had none, it ought to be directed to
 ‘ some peace officer, and not to them.
 ‘ Yet notwithstanding they carried him
 ‘ away to the *Tower*, before *John Robin-*
 ‘ *son*, who sent him to *Newgate*, pre-
 ‘ tending and inserting great matters in
 ‘ his *mittimus*; where he lay *thirty weeks*,
 ‘ without any thing laid to his charge,
 ‘ and then they released him.

A Baptist
 Minister
 seiz'd
 without
 warrant,
 and sent to
 Newgate.

‘ Thirdly, ON the 3d day of *Novem.*
 ‘ 1661, they came again in the like
 ‘ manner to the aforesaid place, in as rude
 ‘ a manner as before, and with as little
 ‘ a shew or face of law: They seized
 ‘ him that was preaching, as one was
 ‘ at that time; and when they had ta-
 ‘ ken him down, they took away three
 ‘ more; two of which were sitting at
 ‘ the table. Whom they carried before
 ‘ *John Robinson*, who committed them
 ‘ all to *New-Prison*; inserting in their
 ‘ *Mittimus*, things of an high nature;
 ‘ as their speaking of treasonable words,
 ‘ and

Another
 Minister
 and three
 more sent
 to New-
 Prison.

' and the like. When some questioned
 ' the legality of their seizure, he, *John*
 ' *Robinson*, reply'd, with some indigna-
 ' tion, that he sent them to do what
 ' they did; as if his verbal command
 ' were sufficient to justify their illegal
 ' proceedings. And at *Sessions* following,
 ' there was one of them remov'd in time
 ' of *Sessions*, only by *John Robinson's*
 ' warrant from *New-Prison* to *Newgate*;
 ' in order, as he said, to his trial, which
 ' he could never attain to have, nor
 ' any thing laid to his charge, tho' he
 ' often called for it in the face of the
 ' *Court*, but had no notice taken of him,
 ' nor never returned in the calendar;
 ' yet was he kept in *Newgate twelve weeks*
 ' unjustly, 'till he was fetched out by a
 ' person in authority. He suffered in all
 ' near *eighteen weeks* imprisonment; and the
 ' rest of his fellows suffered *twenty-eight*
 ' *weeks* imprisonment, and then were re-
 ' leased, nothing being laid to their charge.'

IT was about this time, that a con- J. James's
 gregation of *Baptists* holding the *seventh-* meeting di-
 day as a *sabbath*, being assembled at their sturbed.
 meeting-house in *Bulstake Alley*, the doors
 being open, about three of the clock in
 the afternoon, whilst Mr. *John James*
 was preaching, one Justice *Chard*, with
 Mr. *Wood*, an *Headborough*, came into the
 meeting-place. *Wood* commanded him in
 the King's name to be silent, and come

down, having spoken treason against the King: But Mr. *James* taking little or no notice thereof, proceeded in his work. The *Headborough* came nearer to him in the middle of the meeting-place, and commanded him again in the King's name to come down, or else he would pull him down; whereupon the disturbance grew so great, he could not proceed, but told the *Headborough* he would not come down, except he was pulled down: Whereupon he pulled him down, and halled him away, being charged with treasonable words uttered in his sermon, by one *Tipler*, a pipe-maker's journey-man. Who being a scandalous idle-fellow, the Justice took not much notice of what he said; but bringing a neighbour with him, he was provok'd by him to regard his testimony.

*His hear-
ers sent to
prison.*

John Robinson with three more Justices of the Peace, sitting at the *Half-moon* tavern, both *men* and *women* who were at the meeting, were brought before them by *sevens*. To whom they tender'd the oath of allegiance, and committed those that refus'd, some to *Newgate*, both *men* and *women* being guarded thither by the *Hamlets*.

Narrative
p. 8

‘ AFTERWARDS the same *Justices*,
‘ entring the meeting-place, sat down a-
‘ bout the table with their clerk; and
‘ Major *Stanley* standing by, did send for
‘ *John*

‘ *John James*. And in the mean time
 ‘ the Lieutenant of the Tower read a pa-
 ‘ per which he pull’d out of his pocket;
 ‘ saying, he would read to them what
 ‘ doctrine was preach’d there that day;
 ‘ being of the nature of a charge, which
 ‘ they drew up from *Tipler’s* mouth a-
 ‘ gainst *John James*; demanding of cer-
 ‘ tain women, relating to the meeting,
 ‘ yet detain’d, and whose names they
 ‘ were then taking, how they could hear
 ‘ such things as those? To which they
 ‘ unanimously reply’d in the fear of the
 ‘ Lord, *That they never heard such words,*
 ‘ *as they shall answer it before the Lord,*
 ‘ *and they durst not lie.*

John James being brought before them *Himself*
 into the meeting-place, *John Robinson* ex-^{examined.}
 amin’d him. Among other questions put
 to him, were these following, *viz.*

‘ WHETHER he had not been before
 ‘ him before this? Who answer’d, he had :
 ‘ And whether he had not been civilly
 ‘ us’d? He reply’d, yea; and for his ci-
 ‘ vility he thank’d him. Then the *Lieu-*
 ‘ *tenant* ask’d him, if he was not coun-
 ‘ sell’d for to take heed for the future?
 ‘ He answer’d, yea; and he had taken it
 ‘ so far as he could with a good consci-
 ‘ ence. Upon which the *Lieutenant* told
 ‘ him, he should *stretch* for it; and if he
 ‘ were not *hang’d*, he would be *hang’d*
 ‘ for him. *John James* told him, he was

' not careful in that matter ; and that they
 ' could do no more, then they should be
 ' suffer'd by the Lord to do. The *Lieu-*
 ' *tenant* told him, he thought he was not
 ' careful ; for he had a mind to be *bang'd*,
 ' as some of his *holy brethren* that went
 ' before him ? *John James* desir'd he
 ' would not speak so lightly. The *Lieu-*
 ' *tenant* spake something to him about
 ' the *fifth kingdom* ; and ask'd him, whe-
 ' ther that was his principle ? Who told
 ' him, he did own the *fifth-kingdom*,
 ' which was to come. Whereupon they
 ' laugh'd one upon another, and said, now
 ' they had it from his own mouth. Some-
 ' thing also was charg'd upon him about his
 ' learning to sound a trumpet, in order
 ' to a rising with *Venner's* party. To
 ' which he said, there was a friend of
 ' his who lay in his house, minding to
 ' go to sea, being to learn to sound, de-
 ' sir'd he might have liberty to be
 ' taught in his house ; but he never
 ' learn'd himself, neither was he one of
 ' those in that *rising*, judging it to be a
 ' *rash act*.

' THEN the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower*,
 ' call'd in Captain *Hodgskin*, who com-
 ' manded the party of soldiers that stood
 ' at the door : And said, take this *man*,
 ' be careful of him, and commit him
 ' close prisoner to *Newgate*. So they
 ' carried him away with his *Mittimus*,
 ' hereafter express'd.

' To

‘ *To the keeper of the goal of Newgate,*
 ‘ *or his deputy; Middlesex.*

‘ THESE are in the King’s Majesty’s *And com-*
 ‘ name, to require you to receive into *mitted to*
 ‘ your custody, the body of *John* *prison.*
 ‘ *James*, whom we send you here-
 ‘ with; being taken this present day
 ‘ at a *Conventicle* or private meeting,
 ‘ in the parish of *White-chapel*; and
 ‘ there speaking in the audience of the
 ‘ people present, *treasonable words* a-
 ‘ gainst his Majesty’s royal person.
 ‘ You shall therefore keep him close
 ‘ prisoner until further order; and this
 ‘ shall be your warrant. Given under
 ‘ our hands, this 19th day of *October*
 ‘ 1661.

‘ *John Robinson*, Lieut. of
 ‘ *the Tower*; *Thomas Bide*,
 ‘ *Edw. Chard*, *Tho. Swallow*.

I SHALL refer the reader to the nar-
 rative, publish’d in 1662, where he may
 see the crimes charg’d against him; how
 prov’d, by whom, and in what manner;
 with his defence and avow’d innocency,
 from first to last; and his solemn appeals
 to the Lord thereupon, that by some sig-
 nal testimony, he would manifest the
 same. Of which no judgment is there
 pass’d,

pass'd, but submitted to the discerning and impartial reader.

*His wife
petitions
the King
for him.*

IN the interval between his casting and condemnation, upon *Wednesday* evening, his wife, by the advice of some friends, endeavour'd to make address to the King, to acquaint him with her husband's innocency, and the condition of those loose persons, who had falsely accus'd him. Which she put in writing, lest she might either want an opportunity, or not have courage enough to speak to him. With some difficulty at last she met the King, and presented him with the paper, acquainting him who she was. To whom he held up his finger and said, ' *Oh! Mr. James, he is a sweet gentleman;*' but following him for some further answer, the door was shut against her.

*Narra-
tive, P.
24.*

THE next morning she attended again; and an opportunity soon presenting, she implor'd his Majesty's answer to her request. Who then reply'd, ' *That he was a rogue, and should be hang'd.*' One of the Lord's attending him, ask'd her of whom she spake. The King answer'd, ' *Of John James, that rogue; he shall be hang'd; yea, he shall be hang'd.*'

Is rejected.

WHEN he was brought to the bar to receive sentence; he was ask'd what he had to say for himself, why sentence of death should not be pass'd upon him.

He

He answer'd, ' That he had not much
' to say, only two or three scriptures he
' would leave with them.

' THE first scripture was, *Jer. xxvi.*
' *v. 14, 15. As for me, do as seemeth good*
' *unto you. But know ye for certain, that*
' *if you put me to death, you shall surely*
' *bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and*
' *upon this city, and upon the inhabitants*
' *thereof.*

' THE second scripture was, *Psalms*
' *cxvi. 15. Precious in the sight of the*
' *Lord is the death of his saints. He al-*
' *so minded that good word of the Lord:*
' *He that toucheth the Lord's people, touch-*
' *eth the apple of his eye.*

' HE told them, he had no more to
' say for himself; only one word for the
' Lord, and so he had done:

' THAT *Jesus Christ*, the son of
' God, was King of *England, Scotland,*
' and *Ireland*, and of all the kingdoms of
' this world.'

WHICH being spoken, they silenc'd him, and the court proceeded to sen-
tence; and the Judge pronounc'd sen-
tence of death against him; and he was
executed, according to his sentence, at Ty-
burn, Nov. 26. 1661.

*He is exe-
cuted at
Tyburn.*

Now if there was any undue combi-
nation against this poor man; if it was
for some reason of state, rather than for
any real guilt on his part; if his judg-
ment

ment and conscience, rather than any just crime, were the cause of his thus suffering; his blood must be innocent blood.

SOME remarkable things are taken notice of in the Narrative, publish'd after his death, as befalling those, who had been instruments in his sufferings, or had express'd a delight in them. But I chuse to pass them over in silence.

THE blood of this poor man, did not satiate that devouring wolf *John Robinson*: For many (who suffer'd much from the brutish hands of his soldiers, to whom he gave money to encourage them in their barbarity) were by him committed to prison.

Anno
1662.

Behold a
cry, p. 5.

‘ ON the 25th of May 1662: At a
‘ meeting in *Shakespear's-walk*, near *Wap-*
‘ *ping-wall*, where some people were
‘ peaceably met, there came soldiers in a
‘ hostile manner, with swords and muskets,
‘ pulling and halling some of them; and
‘ the man that was preaching, they pull'd
‘ violently down from the place where
‘ he stood, though it was his own hired
‘ house. And such was their rage, not-
‘ withstanding he was their prisoner, be-
‘ cause he continu'd speaking, they cry'd,
‘ shoot him, before he had any *trial*, or
‘ was found worthy or not worthy of
‘ death. And such was their violence,
‘ that a child belonging unto the family,
‘ about

Two more
imprison'd
by John
Robinson:

Ibidem, p.
6.

Two car-
ried to
Newgate
without a
mittimus.

ON Brown.

Ten sent to
New-Pri-
son by Ro-
binson.

Eight more
committed
by him.

Ibid. p. 7.

Seven more
committed
by Robin-
son.

ON the first day of June 1662, the
soldiers came to *Brick-lane* in like vio-
lent manner, with swords and muskets;
and forced him that was speaking down,
with great outrage; and carried ten of
the men before *John Robinson*, who
after his wonted manner committed
them to *New-prison*. This was in the
morning. And in the afternoon they
came again with far greater violence;
broke the pulpit all to pieces, they left
not a whole piece of wood; and car-
ried eight more to the *Tower*, before
John Robinson, who committed them to
New-prison also. But not to omit an
act worthy the observing; *John Robin-*
son as he came at night by the watch-
house, at *Brick-lane* end, where the
valiant soldiers were keeping guard;
they told him what they had done, how
they had broken the pulpit? He, *John*
Robinson, answer'd, it was well done;
and gave the soldiers a piece of gold, as
a reward for their good service.

ON the eighth of June 1662, the
soldiers came again to *Brick-lane*, exer-
cising their wonted violence and tu-
multuous behaviour. They carried a-
way seven men before *John Robinson*,
who committed them to *New-prison*,
where they yet remain. On the same
eighth of June, the soldiers came to the
meeting in *Beech-lane*, manifesting their
fury

‘ fury and rage: They took away only
 ‘ him that was preaching, and carried *A minister*
 ‘ him before *Richard Brown*; when the *committed*
 ‘ man was before him, amongst the rest *by Brown.*
 ‘ of his learned discourse, he told him,
 ‘ *He should teach him a new trade* (mean-
 ‘ ing, as we suppose, that he would send
 ‘ him to *Bridewell*) *and have the skin*
 ‘ *from his back*: He committed him to
 ‘ *Newgate*.

‘ ON the fifteenth of *June 1662*, the
 ‘ soldiers came again to *Brick-lane*, in
 ‘ such manner as they were wont. They
 ‘ took *six* men and carried them to *John* *Six com-*
 ‘ *Robinson*, who committed them to *New-* *mitted by*
 ‘ *gate*. And on the same day they came *Robinson.*
 ‘ to the meeting at *Beech-lane*, and vio-
 ‘ lently set upon them with drawn swords,
 ‘ pulling of them out of their meeting-
 ‘ place with great rage. The place they
 ‘ stood to preach in they broke it down
 ‘ with such fury, that they broke their
 ‘ muskets: They struck several persons
 ‘ to their detriment in point of health.
 ‘ After which they took *two* men more,
 ‘ carried them to *Paul's-yard*, and from
 ‘ thence to *Newgate*, where they were
 ‘ kept while *Sessions*, not being at all com- *Two com-*
 ‘ mitted, or had before any *magistrate*; *mitted*
 ‘ and at *Sessions* returned to *Newgate*, *without*
 ‘ nothing being laid to their charge, *Mittimus.*
 ‘ where they still remain.

‘ ON

‘ ON the same fifteenth of *June*, 1662,
 ‘ the soldiers came with great fury and
 ‘ rage, with their swords drawn, to the
 ‘ meeting at *Petty-France*; where they
 ‘ very inhumanly wounded a boy almost
 ‘ to death; it was doubtful whether he
 ‘ would recover. They took away him
 ‘ that preached, and carried him to *New-*
 ‘ *gate*, and never had him before any
 ‘ *magistrate*, where he remained till Ses-
 ‘ sions, and from thence was returned
 ‘ to *Newgate* again, where he yet re-
 ‘ mains.

*A minister
 committed
 without a
 mittimus.*

‘ ON the twenty-ninth of *June*, sol-
 ‘ diers came to *Petty-France*, full of rage
 ‘ and violence, with their swords drawn.
 ‘ They wounded some, and struck others,
 ‘ broke down the gallery, and made
 ‘ much spoil: This was in the morning.
 ‘ In the afternoon the soldiers came to
 ‘ *Brick-lane*, practising their wonted cruel-
 ‘ ty, by pulling, halling, and beating them;
 ‘ and took several, had them before *J.*
 ‘ *Robinson*, who committed them to *New-*
 ‘ *Prison*.

*Several
 committed
 by Robin-
 son.*

*Ibidem, p.
 8.*

‘ ON the sixth of the month called
 ‘ *July*, the soldiers came like beasts of
 ‘ prey, to *Brick-lane*, where they shut
 ‘ the door, and kept in all that were
 ‘ there, and with great violence they
 ‘ broke the forms before their faces;
 ‘ they left not one form whole, taking
 ‘ the legs and hurling them against the
 ‘ win-

‘ dows, pulling and hauling many; not
 ‘ regarding *sex, childhood, nor old age.*
 ‘ They took *six* men, and had them be-
 ‘ fore *John Robinson*, who committed them *Six com-*
 ‘ to *New Bridewell.* In the morning fol- *mitted by*
 ‘ lowing, they were by the keepers of *Robinson.*
 ‘ *Bridewell, call’d to beat hemp:* Which
 ‘ they refusing to do, were put into *New-*
 ‘ *prison,* to the rest of their fellow-suffer-
 ‘ ers, where they still are.

‘ ON the 27th of the same month,
 ‘ the soldiers came to *Brick-lane* afore-
 ‘ said, with a multitude of rude people,
 ‘ as butchers out of *White-chapel,* bailiff’s-
 ‘ followers, boys and such like unruly
 ‘ and debauch’d fellows, with a consta-
 ‘ ble like themselves: Who, as we heard,
 ‘ told *John Robinson,* that he could not
 ‘ overcome them, nor break the meet-
 ‘ ing at *Brick-lane.* *John Robinson* an-
 ‘ swer’d, as was said, *That then he should*
 ‘ *let in the multitude upon them, and let*
 ‘ *them tear the cloaths from their backs;*
 ‘ or words to that purpose: Which may
 ‘ very well be judg’d to be true, for the
 ‘ abovesaid ungodly wretches, soldiers and
 ‘ constables, after they had beat, pull’d,
 ‘ and hall’d them in a very inhuman
 ‘ manner themselves, set the great gates
 ‘ wide open: The constable, namely
 ‘ *Bartlet* a cook, and *Brown* the mar-
 ‘ shal, a wicked lewd fellow, calling the
 ‘ rude multitude in, march’d down be-

' fore them, faying to them, *Do your*
 ' *work, boys*: Which they did, for they
 ' beat the women and maids, broke the
 ' forms, the glafs windows, and the door,
 ' making fuch fpoil and havock as was
 ' feldom heard of; fparing none, no not
 ' women big with child. This *Brown*
 ' the marshal being ask'd, why he beat
 ' the women? he faid, Who faw me?
 ' Who will fwear it? And with thofe
 ' words, fell more violently upon the wo-
 ' men, fome whereof were with child;
 ' ftriking of them with his fifts, fuch
 ' blows that made them reel. Again, a
 ' maid had her bible fnatch'd away; ſhe
 ' labouring to get it again, was ftruck
 ' over the eye, that it was black a long
 ' time after. Then the foldiers took *six*
 ' men and a woman, and carried them to
 ' *John Robinſon*; who notwithstanding
 ' committed them all to *New-prifon*.

Seven
committed
by Robin-
ſon.

Ibidem, p.
 9.

The Bap-
tiſts pri-
ſoners af-
ſaulted in
Newgate.

Heb. x.

' ON the third day of the month
 ' call'd *Auguſt* 1662, when the prifon-
 ' ers in *Newgate*, call'd *Baptiſts*, were in
 ' their chamber, ſeeking the Lord, and
 ' ſpeaking to one another, that they might
 ' as their duty is, provoke one another
 ' to love and good works: About four
 ' of the clock in the afternoon, the thieves,
 ' as houſe-breakers, pick-pockets, high-
 ' waymen, came with violence into our
 ' room, one took up a bible from the
 ' table, and threw it down to the ground,
 ' asking

asking what we did there? Struck one
 in the face with his fist, and he with
 the rest fell upon us, drew their knives,
 and endeavour'd to stab some of us. But
 the Lord was pleas'd to deliver us from
 their cruelty; for we took courage
 to defend ourselves, and escaped their
 bloody hands. And on the same day,
 the like violence, as we were in-
 form'd, was offer'd to those brethren
 in the *White-Lyon, Southwark*, by the *And in*
 felons there. And on the first of *June* *White-*
 so called, 1662; which was upon the *Lyon pri-*
 first day of the week, after we were *son in*
 brought to *prison*, some of the keepers *South-*
 did come up to us, and charge us that *wark.*
 we should not pray nor preach; for if
 we did, they had order to put us into
 the hole, and that they must do it.
 And though that was not executed; yet
 the felons did come violently upon us
 in our room, and did beat some of us,
 and threaten us all, saying, they would
 now order us well enough, for they had
 commission so to do.

P O S T C R I P T.

WE would not be understood by *Ibidem;*
 any, that we send out this cry, be- *P. 15.*
 cause we are wearied with what we
 have suffer'd, or afraid of what we
 may further suffer; but that we might
 M 2 shew

‘ shew to the world that our sufferings
 ‘ are altogether contrary to law and hu-
 ‘ manity itself.

‘ FOR did they no more than were
 ‘ law, we should be silent, and willing,
 ‘ with much rejoycing, to endure and
 ‘ suffer it, in that blessed cause of the
 ‘ Gospel, which we are not ashamed of,
 ‘ nor of the testimony of the Lord Je-
 ‘ sus; for whom we are willing to suf-
 ‘ fer the loss of all things, esteeming it a
 ‘ very choice mercy, that the Lord should
 ‘ accept of such poor nothing and un-
 ‘ worthy creatures as we are, to bear a
 ‘ testimony for him, against idolatry and
 ‘ prophaness.’

Anno
 1664.

THE persecution against the *Baptists* still increas’d; and many more instances might be produc’d of the severities us’d against them, both in *London*, and in almost all the counties in *England*; and in the country was usually the greatest cruelty and injustice practis’d.

Manu-
 script pe-
 nes me.

NEAR *Ailsbury* in *Buckinghamshire*, there were several Gentlemen, if they deserve that name, in the commission of the peace, who endeavour’d to distinguish themselves, by their zeal in prosecuting the *Non-conformists*. They not only fill’d the *county goal*, with prisoners of this character; but also took two large houses in *Ailsbury*, and turn’d them into *prisons*, to make
 room

room for their great numbers. Nor were they contented with the ordinary severities in this case, such as imprisonment and confiscation of goods, which were their daily exercise; but they endeavour'd to revive the old practice of punishing *Hereticks* with *banishment and death*.

THERE was a clause, in an Act made the 35th of *Elizabeth* against *Protestant Dissenters*, to this purpose, that if any person had been legally convicted of being at a *Conventicle*, and should after three months imprisonment for the same, refuse to conform to the Church of *England*, they should be oblig'd to abjure the land, that is, be banished, and swear never to come back again without leave; and if they should refuse, *either to conform or abjure the realm*, they should then be guilty of *felony*, without benefit of the *clergy*. This clause seem'd not to have been taken notice of since the *Restoration*, or at least none would so mind it, as to put it into execution.

Draconica, p. 2.

Pulton's Stat. p. 1030.

THERE were twelve persons, ten men and two women, all *Baptists*, who had been taken at their meeting, in or near *Ailsbury*; and having been legally convicted of the same, three months before, were now brought before the bench of justices at their *Quarter-sessions*; and there required, either to conform themselves to the *Church of England*,

Ten men and two women condemned at Ailsbury.

and take the oaths of *allegiance* and *supremacy*, or to abjure the realm, as this law directed; and were assured, that if they refused to do either of these, *sentence of death* should be passed against them. However, that there might be some shew of clemency, they gave them 'till the afternoon to consider of it. Mr. *Farrow*, one of the justices of that county, who liv'd at *Ailsbury*, was the principal agent in this prosecution: And the better to carry on his malicious design, he was this day made their *Chairman*. Several of the *Justices* left the bench, either being ashamed of these rigorous proceedings, or afraid of the consequences of such severity. But *Farrow* and three or four more continued, and were resolved to push on this matter.

WHEN the *prisoners* were again brought forth, they all declared, that *they could neither conform to the Church of England, nor abjure their native country and relations*, and therefore must throw themselves on the mercy of the *court*. Upon this they were by virtue of the *aforecited* law, declared guilty of *felony*, and *sentence of death* accordingly passed on them, and they were remitted back to *goal*, 'till their *execution*. The men were, *Stephen Dagnal*, minister; — *Ellit*, a teacher; *William Whitckurch*, a glover and deacon of their congregation; *Thomas Hill*,

a linnen-draper; *William Welch*, a tallow-chandler; *Thomas Monk*, a farmer; — *Brandon*, a shoemaker; and three more, whose names I cannot obtain: The women were, *Mary Jackman*, a widow, who had six children; *Ann Turner*, spinster.

THE sentence was no sooner passed against them, but the officers were sent to their several houses, to seize on their goods, and whatever effects of theirs could be found: Which order was executed immediately, and great havock made of what little possessions they had. The rest of the *Dissenters* who lived in that town were not a little alarmed at this proceeding, and expected it would quickly come to their turns, to be treated after the same manner. These therefore shut up their shops also; who being the greatest part of the inhabitants, it put a great stop to commerce, and struck the whole town with great horror and surprize. *Brandon*, one of the condemned persons, was prevailed upon, by the tears and earnest entreaties of his wife, to make a recantation, and take the oaths; but he presently found such horror and distress in his mind, for what he had done, as exceeded all his former fears of death, or grief for his family. He voluntarily returned to the *Prison* again, declared, with the greatest

*The Town
much a-
larmed
thereat.*

signs of grief and trouble, his repentance of what he had done, and there continued with his companions, resolving to die with them, in defence of that cause he had so shamefully renounced.

Thomas Monk, son to him of that name, among the condemned, upon the passing of the sentence, immediately took horse for *London*, where he applied himself to Mr. *William Kiffin*, a man of great note among the *Baptists*. and one that had as great an interest at court, as any of that profession, and particularly with chancellor *Hide*: When he had revealed the whole matter to him, they go with great expedition to *Hide*, and intreat him to lay their case before his Majesty, which he readily did. The King seemed very much surprized, that any of his subjects should be put to death for their religion only, and enquired whether there was any law in force that justified such proceedings. When he was satisfied about this, he promised his pardon, and gave orders to the Lord Chancellor accordingly: But when they considered, that the form of passing a pardon would require some time, and that those who had so hastily passed a sentence of death, might be as rash also in the execution of it; they renewed their suit to his Majesty, that an immediate reprieve might be granted, which his Majesty as graciously

*The King
pardons
them.*

ously comply'd with; and it was immediately given to the said *Thomas Monk*, who thereupon made all possible hast down again to *Ailsbury*.

WHEN he reported the success he had met with at court, and produced his Majesty's reprieve, it was not more joyful to his friends, than surprizing to their persecutors; and this put some stop to the violence of their proceedings in those parts.

HOWEVER, the condemned persons were continued close prisoners 'till the next assizes, and then the judge brought down his Majesty's pardon with him, and they were all set at liberty again.

THE reverend and famous Mr. Benjamin Keach had no small share in the sufferings of these times: He was often seized, when preaching, and committed to prison, sometimes bound, sometimes released upon bail, and sometimes his life was threatened. The troopers, who were sent down into *Buckinghamshire*, where he was, to suppress such meetings of the *Dissenters* as they could find; having discovered a meeting where Mr. Keach was preaching, they came with great rage and violence upon the assembly, and swore they would kill the preacher. Accordingly he was seiz'd, and four of the troopers declared their resolution to trample him to death with their

Mr. Ben.
Keach.

His Life
attempted.

their horses; and laying him bound on the ground, prepared themselves for the fact. But the officer seeing their design, rode up towards them, and just as they were going to spur all their horses at once upon him, interposed and prevented them. Then he was taken up and tied behind one of the troopers cross his horse, and so carried to goal; from whence after some time of suffering great hardships and trouble, he was released.

He publishes a Primer.

In this year he wrote a little book, intitled, *The Child's Instructor; or, a new and easie Primer*. Several of his friends desired him to print it for the use of their children; and accordingly he sent it to *London* to be printed, without fixing his name thereunto, and had a recommendatory preface fixed to it by another hand. In this book were several things asserted, contrary to the doctrines and ceremonies of the *Church of England*: As that *infants* ought not to be baptized. That *Laymen* having abilities may preach the Gospel. That *Christ* should reign personally upon the earth in the latter day. &c.

Is taken up for it, and bound over to the Assizes.

THIS book was no sooner printed, and some few of them sent down to him, but one Mr. *Strafford*, a Justice of the Peace for that county, was inform'd thereof; who taking a Constable with him, went presently to the house of
Mr.

Mr. *Keach*, seized all the books he found there, and bound him over to the *Affizes*, in a recognizance of *one hundred pounds*, and two sureties with him, *fifty pounds* each.

THE *Affizes* began at *Ailsbury*, Octo. 8. *His Trial.*
 1664, and Lord Chief Justice *Hide* was Judge. On the first day of the *Affize*, in the afternoon, Mr. *Keach* was called, who answering to his name, was brought to the bar. After the Judge had made some unjust reflections upon his person and profession, to render him odious to the court, he held up one of the *Primmers* in his hand, and said unto him, did not you write this book? Mr. *Keach* readily acknowledged, that he writ the greatest part of it. Upon this the Judge answered, with a great shew of indignation, what have you to do to take other mens trades out of their hands? *I believe you can preach as well as write books.* Thus it is, to let you, and such as you are, *A brave protestant Judge.* to have the scriptures, to wrest to your own destruction. In your book you have made a new *creed*; I have seen three *creeds* before, but never saw a fourth till you made one.

Keach. I have not made a *creed*, but a confession of the *christian faith*?

Judge. WHAT is a *creed* then?

Keach. YOUR Lordship said, that you had never seen but three *creeds*; but thou-

thousands of christians have made a confession of their faith.

THE N the judge said several things concerning *baptism* and the *ministers* of the Gospel ; and when Mr. *Keach* began to make answer, the Judge stopt him, saying, you shall not preach here, nor give the reasons of your *damnable doctrine*, to seduce and infect the King's subjects; these are not things for such as you to meddle with, nor to write books of divinity, I will try you for it before I sleep, and then gave directions to the *Clerk* to draw up the indictment. But he was not so good as his word ; for tho' he was very dilligent, and spent much of his own time to assist the *Clerk*, in preparing the bill, yet they could not get all things ready for the tryal till the next day.

WHILE the *Indictment* was drawing up, the witnesses were sworn, and bid to stand by the *Clerk*, 'till it was finish'd, and then to go with it to the *Grand Inquest*. During this interval, the Judge endeavoured to incense the *Jury* against the *prisoner*, representing him as a base and dangerous fellow. I shall send you presently, said he, a bill against one, that has taken upon him to write a new *Primmer*, for the instruction of your children ; and if this be suffered, children by learning of it will become such as he is,
and

and therefore I hope you will do your duty; and then the court broke up for that day. The next day, the court being set, the *Grand Jury* found the bill against him, and brought it in, endorsed, *billa vera*; and Mr. *Keach* being called to the bar, the *Clerk* said,

Benja. Keach, hear your charge, and then read his *indictment*, which was to this effect:

THOU art here indicted by the name of *Benjamin Keach*, of *Winslow* in the county of *Bucks*, for that thou being a seditious, heretical, and schismatical person, evilly and maliciously disposed, and disaffected to his Majesty's government, and the government of the *Church of England*; didst maliciously and wickedly, on the first day of *May*, in the sixteenth year of the reign of our sovereign Lord the King, write, print, and publish, or cause to be written, printed, and published, one seditious and venomous book, entitled, *The Child's Instructor*; or, *a new and easy Primmer*; wherein are contain'd by way of question and answer, these damnable positions, contrary to the book of Common Prayer, and the Liturgy of the *Church of England*; that is to say, in one place you have thus written.

Q. WHO are the right subjects of baptism?

A.

A. Believers, or godly men and women only, who can make confession of their faith and repentance. And in another place, you have maliciously and wickedly written these words.

Q. How shall it go with the saints?

A. O very well, it is the day that they have longed for ; then shall they hear that sentence, *Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you ;* and so shall they reign with Christ on the earth a thousand years, even on mount *Sion*, in the new *Jerusalem*, for there will Christ's throne be, on which they must sit down with him.

Then follows this question with the answer thereunto in plain English words :

Q. WHEN shall the rest of the wicked and the fallen angels, which be the devils, be judged ?

A. WHEN the thousand years shall be expired, then shall all the rest of the devils be raised and then shall be the general and last judgment ; then shall all the rest of the dead, and devils be judg'd by Christ, and his glorified Saints, and they being arraigned and judged, the wicked shall be condemned, and cast by the angels into the lake of fire, there to be burned for ever and ever.

IN another place, you have wickedly and maliciously written, these plain English words :

Q.

Q. WHY may not *Infants* be received into the church now, as they were under the law?

A. BECAUSE the fleshly seed is cast out, tho' God under that dispensation did receive *Infants* in a lineal way by generation; yet he that hath the key of *David*, that openeth and no man shutteth, that shutteth, and no man openeth, hath shut up that way into the church, and hath opened the door of regeneration, receiving in none now but *believers*.

Q. WHAT then is the case of *Infants*?

A. *Infants* that die are members of the kingdom of glory, tho' they be not members of the visible church.

Q. Do they then that bring in *Infants* in a lineal way by generation, err from the way of truth?

A. YEA, they do; for they make not God's holy word their rule, but do presume to open a door, that Christ hath shut, and none ought to open.

AND also, in another place, thou hast wickedly and maliciously composed *A short confession of the Christian Faith*; in which thou hast affirmed this concerning the second person in the Blessed Trinity, in these plain English words:

I ALSO believe, that he rose again from the dead, and ascended into Heaven above, and there now sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, and from
thence

thence he shall come again, at the appointed time, to reign personally upon the earth, and to be judge of the quick and dead.

AND in another place, thou hast wickedly and maliciously affirmed these things concerning true Gospel Ministers, in these plain English words following :

CHRIST hath not chosen the wise and prudent men after the flesh, not great *Doctors* and *Rabbies*, not many mighty and noble faith, *St. Paul*, are called, but rather the poor and despised, even tradesmen, and such like, as was *Matthew*, *Peter*, *Andrew*, *Paul* and others. And Christ's true Ministers have not their learning and wisdom from men, or from universities, or human schools ; for human learning, arts and sciences, are not essential, in order to the making of a true minister ; but only the gift of God, which cannot be bought with silver or gold. And also, as they have freely received the gift of God, so they do freely administer ; they do not preach for hire, for gain or filthy lucre, they are not like false teachers, who look for gain from their quarters ; who eat the fat, and cloath themselves with the wool, and kill them that are fed. Those that put not into their mouths they prepare war against. Also, they are not Lords over God's heritage, they rule them not by force and cruelty

ty, neither have they power to force and compel men to believe, and obey their doctrine, but are only to persuade and intreat; this is the way of the Gospel as Christ taught them. And many other things hast thou seditiously, wickedly, and maliciously written in the said book, to the great displeasure of Almighty God, the scandal of the Liturgy of the *Church of England*, the disaffection of the King's people to his Majesty's government, the danger of the peace of this Kingdom, to the evil example of others, and contrary to the statute in that case made and provided.

THE *Indictment* being read, the *Clerk* said,

How say you, *Benjamin Keach*, are you guilty or not guilty?

Keach. THE *Indictment* is very long, I cannot remember half of it, nor have I been accustomed to plead to *Indictments*; I desire to have a Copy of it, and liberty to confer with council about it, in order to put in my exceptions; and then I shall plead to it.

Judge. IT is your intention to delay your trial 'till the next *Affizes*.

Keach. No, my Lord, I have no design by this to delay my trial.

Judge. I will not deny you what is your right, but you must first plead to the

Indictment, and afterwards you shall have a copy of it.

Keach. I desire I may have a copy of it, before I plead, in order to put in my exceptions against it.

Judge. Y o u shall not have it before you plead, *guilty or not guilty*.

Keach. I T is what has been granted to others.

Judge. You shall not have a copy of it first, and if you refuse to plead *guilty or not guilty*, I shall take it *pro Confesso*, and give judgment against you accordingly.

WHEN Mr. *Keach* saw he was thus overruled by the Judge, and that he was denied his right as an Englishman, he pleaded *not guilty*.

Judge. N o w you may have a copy of your *Indictment*; and I will give you *an hour's time* to consider of it.

Keach. I F I may have no longer time, I don't desire one.

Judge. I have something else to do than to wait upon you, you are not a person fit to go abroad 'till the next *Af-fizes*, and you would think it hard if I should commit you to *Goal* till then; but because you shall not say, but that you were offered fair, if you will find sufficient sureties for your appearance at the next *Af-fize*, and for your good behaviour till then, you shall not be tried till then.

BUT

BUT Mr. *Keach* knowing, that his appearing at any dissenting-meeting, would be deemed in those evil times a breach of his good behaviour, dared not to accept of this proposal, and said, I am willing to be tried now.

Judge. Go on then, a God's name.

THEN the *Jury* were called by their names, and sworn well and truly to try the *Traverse* between the King and the Prisoner.

UPON this the *Clerk* read the *Indictment*, and told them that he had pleaded *not guilty*, and that their charge was to enquire whether he was *guilty* or not ; and so the witnesses were called, whose names were *Neal* and *Whitehall*.

Neal swore, that Justice *Strafford* sending for him to wait upon him, he coming to his worship, was commanded to fetch his *staff of authority*, and come to him again, and then they went to one *Moody's* stall, and asked for some *Primmers* which he had ; but he answered he had none ; from thence they went to *Benjamin Keach's* house, where first they saw his wife, he himself being in an inward room ; they asked her if there were not some *Primmers* in the house ; she said there were, and there were about thirty brought forth, and delivered to him.

JUSTICE *Strafford* also deposed, That going to the house of the Prisoner, he

found and seized the said *Primmers*; and that the *Prisoner* at the bar confessed before him, that he writ and composed the said book; and then a copy of the *Prisoner's* examination before the said deponent, signed with his own hand, was produced and read. Wherein was contained, that the *Prisoner* being asked whether he was the *Author* or writer of the said book, answered, yes he was, and further declared, that he delivered part of the *Copy* to one *Oviat*, a printer, since dead, and that the rest of the said *Copy* he sent up by another hand, but that he knew not who printed it; that about forty of them were sent down to him, of which he had disposed about twelve, and that the price was five pence each book.

T.H.E.N the Judge called for a *Common Prayer Book*, and ordered one of the *Primmers* to be given to the *Jury*, and commanded the *Clerk* to read those sentences in the *Indictment*, that were taken out of the said book, that the *Jury* might turn to them, to see that the said positions were contained therein.

T.H.E first position, which affirms that *Believers only are the right subjects of Baptism*, being read. This, says the Judge, is contrary to the book of *Common Prayer*, for that appoints *Infants* to be baptized, as well as men and women; and then
read

read several places, wherein the baptizing of such is enjoined and vindicated.

THE next position is that, which affirms, that *the Saints shall reign with Christ a thousand years.*

THIS, says the Judge, is contrary to the *Creed*, in the book of *Common Prayer*, and is an old *Heresy*, which was cast out of the Church a thousand years ago, and was likewise condemned by the council of *Constance*, about five hundred years after, and hath lain dead ever since, 'till now this *Rascal* hath revived it.

UPON reading that position in the *Indictment*, which denies that *Infants are to be received into the Church now, as they were under the Law*: The Judge said, this also is contrary to the book of *Common Prayer*; which appoints *Infants* to be received into the Church, and directs the Priest to say, when he hath sprinkled the Child, *We receive this Child into the Congregation of Christ's Flock, &c.*

AND to the next position in the *Indictment*, wherein it is affirmed, that *Infants that die, are Members of the Kingdom of Glory, tho' not of the visible Church.* The Judge said, this he speaks of *Infants* in general; so that the Child of a *Turk*, is made equal to the Child of a *Christian*; but our Church hath determined otherwise, *viz.* That if an *Infant* die after *Baptism*, and before it hath actually sin-

ned, it is saved; because *original Sin* is washed away in *Baptism*.

AFTER this was read, that position in the *Indictment* which was taken out of the *confession of Faith*, made by *Benja. Keach*. This, saith the Judge, is contrary to our *Creed*; for whereas this saith of Christ, *that he ascended into Heaven above, and there now sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, and from thence he shall come again, at the appointed time of the Father, to reign personally upon the Earth, and to be the judge both of the quick and dead.* Our *Creed* saith only, *from thence he shall come to judge both the quick and dead.* And as to that concerning *Gospel Ministers*, he said, this is also contrary to the book of *Common Prayer*: For whereas the position in the *Indictment* saith, *that Christ hath not chosen great Rabbies and Doctors, but rather the Poor and Despised, and Tradesmen*: The book of *Common Prayer*, does admit of such *viz. Doctors and Rabbies*, and then read some passages, concerning the qualifications of *Ministers*, and their manner of consecration in proof of it. And afterwards said, because Christ when he was upon earth made choice of tradesmen to be his Disciples, this *Fellow* would have *Ministers* to be such now; *Taylors, Pedlars, and Tinkers*, such *Fellows* as he is; but it is otherwise now, as appears from the manner in which
the

the Church has appointed them to be chosen, ordained, and consecrated.

THE Judge having done, the *Prisoner* thought now he might have liberty to speak for himself, and accordingly began.

Keach. As to the *Doctrines* —

Judge. You shall not speak any thing here, except to the matter of *Fact*, that is to say, whether you wrote this book or not.

Keach. I DESIRE liberty to speak to the particulars of my *Indictment*, and answer those things that have——

Judge. You shall not be suffered to give the reasons of your *Doctrine* here, to seduce the King's subjects.

Keach. Is my *Religion* so bad, that I may not be allow'd to speak?

Judge. I KNOW your *Religion*, you are a *fifth monarchy man*, and you can preach as well as write books, and you would preach here if I would let you; but I shall take such order, as you shall do no more mischief.

THIS threatening, made Mr. *Keach* and some of his friends, who were unacquainted in the law in this case, fear, that he intended to have him hanged.

Keach. I DID not write all the book, for there is an *Epistle* wrote to it by another hand, neither can it be proved, that I writ all that is put into the *Indictment*.

Judge. IT is all one, whether you
N 4
writ

writ it yourself, or dictated to another, that wrote it; but it appears, by your examination, under your own hand, that you wrote it all.

Keach. BECAUSE I writ the greater part of it, I was contented to let it go with the word *all* in my examination before Justice *Strafford*; but I cannot in conscience say that I writ it all, nor is it proved, that I published it.

Judge. YES, for *Moody* had six books of you.

Keach. I DID neither sell them nor deliver them unto him.

Judge. HE had them at your house, and tis not likely he should take them without your consent.

Keach. I Do not say he had them without my consent.

Judge. IT is all one then.

SOME few more words passed; but *Mr. Keach* being not permitted to answer to the particulars charged upon him, was content not to insist upon more proof of his being the *Author* of the book.

THEN the Judge summed up the evidence, and gave his charge to the *Jury*, wherein he cast many reflections on the *Prisoner*, to incense them against him, like as he had done before to the *Grand Inquest*.

THE *Jury* having received their charge, withdrew, and staid for some hours. At length one of the Bailiffs who attended them, came and told the Judge, that the Jury about
the

the *Primmer* could not agree. But, said the Judge, they must agree; the *Bailiff* replied, they desire to know whether one of them may not speak to your Worship, about something whereof they are in doubt. Yes, *privately*, said the Judge; and ordered that one should come to him on the bench. And when the *Officer* had fetched one, he was set upon the *Clerk's* table, and the Judge and he whispered together a great while. And it was observed, that the Judge having his hands upon his shoulders, would frequently shake him, as he spake to him.

UPON the Person's returning, the whole *Jury* quickly came in, and being according to custom, called over by their names, the *Clerk* proceeded.

Clerk. How say you, is *Benja. Keach* guilty of the matter contained in the *Indictment* against him, or not *guilty*?

Foreman. GUILTY in part.

Clerk. OF what part?

Foreman. THERE is something in the *Indictment* which is not in the book.

Clerk. WHAT is that?

Foreman. IN the *Indictment*, he is charged with these words; when the thousand years shall be expired, then shall all the rest of the *Devils* be raised; but in the book it is, then shall the rest of the *Dead* be raised.

Clerk. Is he guilty of the *Indictment*, that sentence excepted?

ONE

ONE of the *Jurymen*. I cannot in conscience find him *guilty*, because the words in the *indictment*, and the book do not agree.

Judge. THAT is only thro' a mistake of the *Clerk*, and in that one sentence only: And you may find him guilty of all, that sentence excepted. But why did you come in before you were agreed?

Foreman. WE thought we had been agreed.

Judge. You must go out again and agree. And as for you that say, you cannot in *conscience* find him *guilty*, if you say so again, without giving reasons for it, I shall take an order with you.

THEN the *Jury* withdrew, and in a little time return'd again, and brought in this verdict, that he was guilty of the indictment; that sentence, wherein *devils* is inserted instead of *dead*, only excepted.

UPON this *Benjamin Keach* was call'd to the bar; and the Judge proceeded, and pass'd *sentence* as follows:

Judge. *Benjamin Keach*, you are here convicted, for writing, printing and publishing, a seditious and schismatical book, for which the court's judgment is this, and the court doth award: That you shall go to *goal* for a fortnight without bail or mainprize; and the next *Saturday*, to stand upon the *pillory* at *Ailbury*

His sentence.

bury, in the open market, for the space of two hours, from eleven of the clock to one, with a paper upon your head with this inscription: ‘ For writing, printing and publishing, a schismatical book, intitled, *The Child’s Instructor, or, a new and easy Primmer.*’ And the next *Thursday*, to stand in the same manner, and for the same time, in the market of *Winslow*; and there your book shall be openly burnt, before your face, by the common hangman, in disgrace of you and your doctrine: And you shall forfeit to the King’s Majesty the sum of *twenty pounds*; and shall remain in *goal*, until you find *sureties* for your good behaviour, and appearance at the next *Affizes*, there to *renounce your doctrines*, and make such publick submission as shall be enjoined you: Take him away, keeper.

Keach. I HOPE I shall never *renounce those truths*, which I have written in that book.

Clerk. MY Lord, he says, he hopes he shall *never repent*; but the Judge making no answer to this, the *Jaylor* took him away.

IT is easy to discover, that this trial was carried on in a very arbitrary manner, and a *verdict* extorted against him from the *Fury*. Not could any pardon be obtain’d, or the least relaxation of the
severe

*Is put into
the pillory
at Ailf-
bury.*

*His beha-
viour
there.*

severe sentence, and the *Sheriff* took care that every thing should be punctually performed, and that other things should be expected: For according to the rigour of the law, he was kept close prisoner till the *Saturday*; when according to the sentence, he was brought to the *pillory* at *Ailfbury*; several of his religious friends and acquaintance accompanying him: And when they expressed his hard case, and the injustice of his sufferings, he said with a chearful countenance, *the cross is the way to the crown*. His head and hands were no sooner fixed in the pillory; but he began to address himself to the spectators to this effect. Good people, I am not ashamed to stand here this day, with this paper on my head; my Lord *Jesus* was not ashamed to suffer on the cross for me; and it is for his cause that I am made a gazing-stock. Take notice, it is not for any wickedness that I stand here; but for writing and publishing his truths, which the Spirit of the Lord hath revealed in the Holy Scriptures.

A CLERGYMAN that stood by could not forbear interrupting him: And said, it is for writing and publishing *errors*; and you may now see, what your *errors* have brought you to.

MR. *Kcach* reply'd, Sir, can you prove them errors; but before the *Clergyman* could

could return an answer, he was attacked by some from among the people. One told him, of his being pulled *drunk out of a ditch*: Another upbraided him with being lately found *drunk under a haycock*. At this all the people fell to laughing; and turn'd their diversion from the sufferer in the pillory to the *drunken priest*; in-somuch that he hasten'd away with the utmost disgrace and shame.

AFTER the noise of this was over, the *prisoner* began to speak again; saying, It is no new thing for the servants of the Lord to suffer, and be made a gazing-stock; and you that are acquainted with the scriptures know, that the way to the crown is by the cross. The Apostle saith, *That thro' many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of heaven*; and Christ saith, *He that is ashamed of me and my words, in an adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the son of man be ashamed, before the father, and before his holy angels*. But he was frequently interrupted by the *Jaylor*, who told him that he must not speak, and that if he would not be silent, he must force him to it. After he had stood some time silent, getting one of his hands at liberty, he pull'd his *Bible* out of his pocket, and held it up to the people; saying, take notice, that the things which I have written and
pub-

published, and for which I stand here this day, a spectacle to men and angels, are all contain'd in this *book*, as I could prove out of the same, if I had an opportunity.

AT this the *Jaylor* interrupted him again; and with great anger enquired, who gave him the *book*; some said, his wife, who was near unto him, and frequently spoke in vindication of her husband, and the principles for he which suffered. But Mr. *Keach* reply'd, and said, that he took it out of his own pocket. Upon this the *Jaylor* took it from him, and fastened up his hand again. But it was almost impossible to keep him from speaking; for he soon began again, saying to this effect: It seems I cannot be suffered to speak to the cause for which I stand here; neither could I be suffered the other day (on his trial I suppose he meant) but it will plead its own innocence, when the strongest of its opposers shall be ashamed.

I DO not speak this out of prejudice to any person, but do sincerely desire, that the Lord would convert them, and convince them of their errors, that their souls may be saved in the day of the Lord *Jesus*. Good people, the concernment of souls is very great; so great, that Christ died for them: And truly a concernment

cernment for souls was that which moved me to write and publish those things, for which I now suffer, and for which I could suffer far greater things than these. It concerns you therefore to be very careful, otherwise it will be very sad with you, at the revelation of the Lord *Jesus* from heaven, for we must all appear before his tribunal. Here he was interrupted again, and forced to be silent for some time. But at length he ventur'd to speak again; saying, I hope the Lord's people will not be discouraged at my suffering. Oh! did you but experience, says he, the great love of God, and the excellencies that are in him, it would make you willing to go through any sufferings for his sake. And I do account this the greatest honour, that ever the Lord was pleas'd to confer upon me. After this, he was not suffered to speak much more: For the *Sheriff* came in a great rage; and said, if he would not be silent, he should be gagged; and the *officers* were ordered to keep the people at a greater distance from him, though they declar'd they could not do it. At the end of a long silence he ventur'd again: This, says he, is one *yoke of Christ*, which I can experience *easy* to me, and a *burthen* which he doth make *light*. But finding he could not be suffer'd to speak, he kept silence till the whole

whole two hours were expired; only uttering this sentence, *Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.* When the full time according to his sentence was expired, the *Under-keeper* lifted up the board, and as soon as his head and hands were at liberty, he blessed God with a loud voice for his great goodness unto him.

He is put into the pillory again, and his book burnt.

ON the *Saturday* following, he stood in the same manner, and for the like time, at *Winslow*, the town where he liv'd; and had his book *burnt before him*, according to the sentence. But I cannot obtain any particulars of his behaviour there; and therefore therein must be silent, not doubting but that it was with the same christian spirit and courage, as before.

THE person who preserved this relation, being present, wrote down all he heard and saw, at the very instant; and makes this observation of his suffering, *viz.* That he stood in the pillory full two hours to a minute, which was a more strict execution than ever he saw in town or country; that others always had their hands at liberty; but this *sufferer* had his carefully kept in the holes, almost all the time which must render his suffering so much the more painful, yet, says he, *Thus judg-*

judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off: for truth is fallen in the streets, and equity cannot enter. He that departeth from evil, maketh himself a prey, and the Lord saw it, and it displeased him, that there was no judgment. Isa. lxi. 14, 15.

THE persecution against the professing people of God, was carried on with great violence, and much innocent blood shed. But two dreadful judgments, one upon the back of the other, beset the great city of *London*; the *Pestilence*, and the *Fire*: Which by many in that day, were look'd upon as tokens of God's anger against that persecuting spirit gone forth amongst the people.

THE account of the plague is taken notice of by Dr. *Calamy*, in his *continuation* of the account of the ministers, &c. Anno 1665. silenced after the Restoration, by or before the Act for Uniformity, taken from the treatise of Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, intitled, *God's terrible voice in the city*; which is very affecting.

‘ HE there tells us, says the Doctor, *Continuation*, p. 33. that it was in *Holland* in 1664; and the same year began in some remote parts of this land; though the weekly bills of the city took notice but of three that then died there of that disease. In the beginning of *May* 1665, nine died of

‘ it in the heart of the city, and eight in
 ‘ the suburbs; the next week the bill
 ‘ fell from nine to three; in the next
 ‘ week it mounted from three to four-
 ‘ teen; in the next to seventeen; in the
 ‘ next to forty-three. In *June* the num-
 ‘ ber encreased from forty-three to one
 ‘ hundred and twelve; the next week to
 ‘ one hundred sixty-eight; the next to
 ‘ two hundred sixty-seven; the next to
 ‘ four hundred and seventy. In the first
 ‘ week of *July*, the number arose to se-
 ‘ ven hundred twenty-five; the next week
 ‘ to one thousand and eighty-nine; the
 ‘ next to one thousand eight hundred and
 ‘ forty-three; the next to two thousand
 ‘ and ten. In the first week in *August*,
 ‘ the number amounted to two thousand
 ‘ eight hundred and seventeen; the next
 ‘ to three thousand eight hundred and
 ‘ eighty; the next to four thousand
 ‘ two hundred thirty-seven; the next to
 ‘ six thousand one hundred and two. In
 ‘ *September* a decrease of the distemper
 ‘ was hop’d for; but it was not yet come
 ‘ to its height: In the first week, there
 ‘ died of it six thousand nine hundred
 ‘ eighty-eight: And though in the second
 ‘ week the number abated, to six thou-
 ‘ sand five hundred forty-four; yet in the
 ‘ third week it arose to seven thousand
 ‘ one hundred sixty-five, which was the
 ‘ highest.

‘ highest. And then of the one hundred
‘ and thirty parishes, in and about the
‘ city, there were but four which were
‘ not infected: And in those there were
‘ but few people remaining, that were
‘ not gone into the country. In the
‘ house where he lived [Mr. *Thomas Vin-*
‘ *cent*] there were eight in family, three
‘ men, three youths, an old woman and
‘ a maid. It was the latter end of *Sep-*
‘ *tember* before any of them were touch-
‘ ed. The maid was first seized with the
‘ distemper, which began with a shiver-
‘ ing and trembling in her flesh, and
‘ quickly seized on her spirits. This was
‘ on the *Monday*, and she died on *Thurs-*
‘ *day* full of tokens. On *Friday* one of
‘ the youths had a swelling in his groin,
‘ and on the *Lord’s-day* died, with the
‘ marks of the distemper upon him. On
‘ the same day, another of the youths
‘ sickened, and on the *Wednesday* follow-
‘ ing he died. On the *Thursday* night
‘ the master of the house fell sick, and
‘ within a day or two was full of spots,
‘ but was strangely recover’d, beyond his
‘ own or others expectation. In the fourth
‘ week of *September* there was a decrease,
‘ to five thousand five hundred thirty-
‘ eight. In the first week of *October*, there
‘ was a farther decrease to four thousand
‘ nine hundred twenty-nine; in the next

' to four thousand three hundred twenty-
 ' seven; the next to two thousand six
 ' hundred sixty-five; the next to one
 ' thousand four hundred twenty-one; and
 ' the next to one thousand and thirty-one.
 ' The first week in *November* there was
 ' an increase to one thousand four hun-
 ' dred and fourteen; but it fell the week
 ' after to one thousand and fifty; and
 ' the week after to six hundred fifty-two;
 ' and so lessened more and more to the
 ' end of the year. And the whole number
 ' of those that were reckoned to die of the
 ' plague in *London*, this year, was sixty-
 ' eight thousand five hundred ninety-six.

' THE main body, says *Dr. Calamy*,
 ' of the publick ministers retired from
 ' the danger, and left their pulpits va-
 ' cant. In this case, the ministers that
 ' had been silenced three years before,
 ' and had preached only privately, and
 ' to small numbers, thought it their duty
 ' to give the best help they could to the
 ' many thousands that remained in the
 ' city. They staid and preached to vast
 ' congregations; and the immediate views
 ' of death before them, made both
 ' preachers and hearers, serious at an un-
 ' common rate.

Anno
 1666.

' THE vices and immoralities of the
 ' nation, says *Mr. Neal* *, not being suf-

* Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 404.

' ficiently

‘ ficiently punished by the *Plague*, it
‘ pleased Almighty God this year to suf-
‘ fer the City of *London* to be laid in
‘ ashes, by a dreadful *conflagration*, which
‘ began behind the *Monument* in *Pud-*
‘ *ding-lane*, *Sept.* 2. and within three or
‘ four days consumed thirteen thousand
‘ two hundred dwelling houses, and eigh-
‘ ty-nine churches; among which was
‘ the Cathedral of *St. Paul’s*; many pub-
‘ lick structures, schools, libraries, and
‘ stately edifices. Multitudes of people
‘ lost their estates, their goods and mer-
‘ chandize, and some few their lives;
‘ the King, the Duke of *York*, and many
‘ of the Nobility, were spectators of the
‘ desolation, but had not power to stop
‘ it; till at length it ceas’d almost as
‘ wonderfully as it began. *Moorfields* was
‘ filled with household-goods, and the
‘ people were forced to lie in huts and
‘ tents. Many families, who the last
‘ week were in large circumstances, were
‘ now reduc’d to beggary, and oblig’d to
‘ begin the world again. The authors of
‘ this *fire* were said to be the *Papists*, as
‘ appears by the inscription upon the *Mo-*
‘ *nument*. The Parliament being of this
‘ persuasion, petitioned the King to issue
‘ out a proclamation, requiring all *Papish*
‘ *Priests* and *Jesuits* to depart the king-
‘ dom within a month; and appointed a

‘ committee who received evidence of
 ‘ some *Papists*, that were seen to throw
 ‘ fire-balls into houses, and of others who
 ‘ had materials for it in their pockets;
 ‘ but the men were gone, and none suf-
 ‘ fer’d but one *Hubert*, a *Frenchman*,
 ‘ by his own confession.’

IN this general confusion, the churches being burnt, and many of the parish ministers gone, for want of places of worship, the *Nonconformists* resolved again to supply the necessities of the people. Some churches were rais’d of boards, which they called *Tabernacles*: And the *Dissenters* fitted up large rooms with pulpits, seats and galleries; and many citizens frequented their meetings. But these calamities had no further influence upon the court prelates, than that they durst not at present prosecute the preachers so severely as before.

Anno
 1667.

THIS year put a stop to the power of the great Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord High Chancellor of *England*, who had made himself obnoxious to the court, by his magisterial air towards the King. He was impeached at the bar of the House of Lords, in the name of all the Commons of *England*, of High-Treason, for sundry arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings, contrary to law, by which he had acquir’d a
 greater

greater estate, than could be honestly gotten in that time. The Earl did not think fit to abide the storm, but withdrew to *France*; leaving a paper behind him, in which he denied almost every article of his charge; but the Parliament voted it scandalous, and order'd it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. He was banished the King's dominions for life, by Act of Parliament: ' And spent, ' says Mr. *Neal*, the remaining seven years ' of his life at *Roan* in *Normandy*, among ' *Papists* and *Presbyterians*, whom he ' would hardly suffer to live in his own ' country; and employ'd the chief of his ' time, in writing the history of the Grand ' Rebellion.' He gloried, says *Rapin* *, in his hatred of the *Presbyterians*: And, perhaps, contributed more than any other, to that excess of animosity, which still subsists among the followers of his maxims and principles. But what gives a lustre to his glory, is, that from the marriage of his daughter with the Duke of *York*, sprung two *Princesses*, successively Queens of *England*. ' His Lordship, ' says Mr. *Neal*, was a person of very ' considerable abilities, which have been ' sufficiently display'd by his admirers; ' but I have not been able to discover

* History of *England*, Vol. II. p. 650.

‘ any of his great or generous actions
 ‘ for the service of the publick ; and how
 ‘ far his conduct with regard to the *Non-*
 ‘ *conformists* was consistent with honesty,
 ‘ religion or honour, must be left with
 ‘ the reader.’



C H A P. II.

*From the banishment of the Earl
 of Clarendon, to the end of
 the reign of King Charles II.*

Anno
 1668.

LORD Clarendon, the great patron of
 persecuting power, having lost the
 King's favour ; and Archbishop *Sheldon*
 and Bishop *Morley* being likewise under
 his displeasure, affairs began to take ano-
 ther turn. For Bishop *Burnet* observes *,
 ‘ That when complaints were made of
 ‘ some disorders, and of some Conventi-
 ‘ cles, the King said, the Clergy were
 ‘ chiefly to blame for these disorders, for
 ‘ if they had liv'd well, and gone about
 ‘ their parishes, and taken pains to con-
 ‘ vince the *Nonconformists*, the nation

* Hist. of his own Time, Vol. I. p. 258.

‘ might

‘ might have been well settled ; but they
 ‘ thought of nothing, but to get good
 ‘ benefices, and to keep a good table.’
 He adds, that the King once said the
 following things to him in his closet ; ‘ If
 ‘ the Clergy had done their parts, it had
 ‘ been an easy thing to run down the
 ‘ *Nonconformists* ; but they will do no-
 ‘ thing, and will have me do every thing ;
 ‘ and most of them do worse, than if they
 ‘ did nothing. That he had a Chaplain
 ‘ a very honest man, but a very great
 ‘ blockhead, to whom he had given a li-
 ‘ ving in *Suffolk*, that was full of that
 ‘ sort of people [*Nonconformists*.] That this
 ‘ Chaplain had gone about among them
 ‘ from house to house, tho’ he could not
 ‘ imagine what he could say to them ;
 ‘ but that he believ’d, his nonsense suited
 ‘ their nonsense, for he had brought
 ‘ them all to church ; and that in re-
 ‘ ward of his diligence, he had given him
 ‘ a Bishoprick in *Ireland*.’

SOME attempts began now to be made by Anno
 Lord-Keeper *Bridgman*, Lord Chief Jus- 1669.
 tice *Hale*, Bishop *Wilkins*, *Reynolds*, Dr.
Burton, *Tillotson*, *Stillingfleet*, and others,
 for a comprehension of such as could be
 brought into the church, by some abate-
 ments, and a *toleration* for the rest. But
 this project was blasted by the Court Bi-
 shops, and Lord *Clarendon*’s friends ; who
 took

took the alarm, and rais'd a mighty outcry of the *danger of the church*. So when the Parliament met, notice was taken, that there were rumours without doors, of a bill to be offer'd for *comprehension* and *indulgence*. Upon which a vote was pass'd, that *no man should bring such a bill into the house*. ' And to crush the *Nonconformists* more effectually, says Mr. Neal *, Archbishop Sheldon writ a circular letter to the Bishops of his province, dated *June 8.* to send him a particular account of the *Conventicles* in their several *Dioceses*, and of the numbers that frequented them, and whether they thought *they might be easily suppressed by the civil magistrate*. When he was provided with this information, he went to the King, and obtain'd a proclamation to put the laws in execution against the *Nonconformists*, and particularly against the *preachers*; according to the Statute of the 17th of King *Charles II.* which forbids their inhabiting in corporations.

' Thus, says he, the persecution was revived: And the Parliament still bent on severities, appointed a committee to enquire into the behaviour of the *Nonconformists*. Who reported to the house, that divers *Conventicles*, and other se-

* History of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 418.

' ditious meetings, were held in their very
 ' neighbourhood, in defiance of the laws,
 ' and to the danger of the peace of the
 ' kingdom. General *Monk*, who was near
 ' his end, and sunk almost into contempt,
 ' was employ'd to disperse them; and
 ' received the thanks of the house for his
 ' zeal in that important service, wherein
 ' he was sure to meet with no opposition.
 ' They also returned his Majesty thanks,
 ' for his proclamation for suppressing Con-
 ' venticles, desiring him to take the same
 ' care for the future. By this means, the
 ' private meetings of the *Dissenters*, which
 ' had been held by connivance, were
 ' broken up again,' and many of them
 imprisoned.

BUT this was contrary to the King's
 inclination *: Who was only for play-
 ing the *Dissenters* against the Parliament
 for a sum of money. When the house
 therefore was up, his Majesty ordered
 some of the *Nonconformists* to be told, that
 he was desirous to make them easy; and
 that if they would petition for relief they
 should be favourably heard: Upon which
 an address was drawn up and presented to
 him. The King receiv'd them graciously,
 and promis'd to do his utmost to get
 them comprehended within the establish-
 ment. He wish'd there had been no bars

* *Neale*, Vol. IV. p. 420:

at all; signified that he was forced to comply for peace sake, but that he would endeavour to remove them, tho' it was a work of difficulty. When he dismissed them, he told them, *That he was against persecution, and hoped e're long to be able to stand upon his own legs.* But, says Mr. Neale, his Majesty's promises were always to be bought off by a sum of money to support his pleasures.

Anno
1670.

THE House of Commons were violently set upon persecution; and the Court sided therewith, to reduce the *Dissenters* to the necessity of petitioning for a *general toleration*. They revived the *Conventicle Act*, and added two extraordinary clauses thereto. The Court Bishops were for the bill, but the moderate Clergy were against it. Bishop *Wilkins* spoke against it in the house: And when the King desired him in private to be quiet, he reply'd, that he thought it an ill thing, both in conscience and policy; therefore as he was an *Englishman* and a Bishop, he was bound to oppose it: And since by the laws and constitution of *England*, and by his Majesty's favour, he had a right to debate and vote, he was neither afraid nor ashamed to own his opinion in that matter.

Burnet,
p. 272.

HOWEVER the bill passed both houses; and received the Royal Assent, *Ap. 11.*
1670.

1670. ‘ It was, says Mr. *Neal* *, to the
 ‘ following effect: That if any person
 ‘ upwards of sixteen years, shall be pre-
 ‘ sent at any Assembly, Conventicle or
 ‘ Meeting, under colour or pretence of
 ‘ any exercise of religion, in any other
 ‘ manner than according to the Liturgy
 ‘ and practice of the Church of *England*;
 ‘ where there are five persons or more
 ‘ present, besides those of the said house-
 ‘ hold; in such cases the offender shall
 ‘ pay five shillings for the first offence,
 ‘ and ten shillings for the second. And
 ‘ the preachers or teachers in any such
 ‘ meetings, shall forfeit twenty pounds
 ‘ for the first, and forty for the second
 ‘ offence. And lastly, those who know-
 ‘ ingly suffer any such Conventicles in
 ‘ their houses, barns, yards, &c. shall
 ‘ forfeit twenty pounds. Any Justice of
 ‘ Peace on the oath of two witnesses, or any
 ‘ other sufficient proof, may record the of-
 ‘ fence under his hand and seal, which
 ‘ record shall be taken in law for a full
 ‘ and perfect conviction, and shall be cer-
 ‘ tified at the next Quarter-Sessions. The
 ‘ fines above-mention’d may be levied, by
 ‘ distress and sale of the offender’s goods
 ‘ and chattels; and in case of the pover-
 ‘ ty of such offender, upon the goods
 ‘ and chattels of any other person or per-

* History of the Puritans, Vol. IV. p. 426.

‘ sons that shall be convicted of having
 ‘ been present at the said Conventicle, at
 ‘ the discretion of the Justice of Peace,
 ‘ so as the sum to be levied on any one
 ‘ person, in case of the poverty of
 ‘ others, do not amount to above ten
 ‘ pounds for any one meeting: The Con-
 ‘ stables, Headboroughs, &c. are to levy
 ‘ the same by warrant from the Justice,
 ‘ and to be divided, *one third for the use*
 ‘ *of the King, another third for the poor,*
 ‘ *and the other third to the informer or his*
 ‘ *assistants; regard being had to their di-*
 ‘ *ligence and industry in discovering, dis-*
 ‘ *persing, and punishing the said Conven-*
 ‘ *ticles.* The fines upon ministers for
 ‘ preaching, are to be levied also by di-
 ‘ stress; and in case of poverty, upon
 ‘ the goods and chattels of any other pre-
 ‘ sent; and the like upon the house where
 ‘ the Conventicle is held; and the money
 ‘ to be divided as above.

‘ AND it is further enacted; That the
 ‘ Justice or Justices of Peace, Constable,
 ‘ Headboroughs, &c. may by warrant,
 ‘ with what aid, force, and assistance
 ‘ they shall think necessary, break open, and
 ‘ enter into any house or place, where
 ‘ they shall be informed of the Conven-
 ‘ ticle, and take the persons so assembled
 ‘ into custody. — And the Lieutenants,
 ‘ or other commissioned officers of the
 ‘ militia, may get together such force
 ‘ and

‘ and assistance as they think necessary
‘ to dissolve, dissipate, and disperse such
‘ unlawful meetings, and take the per-
‘ sons into custody. — That if any Jus-
‘ tice of Peace refuse to do his duty in
‘ the execution of this Act, he shall for-
‘ feit five pounds.

‘ AND be it farther enacted; That all
‘ clauses in this Act *shall be construed*
‘ *most largely, and beneficially for the sup-*
‘ *pressing Conventicles, and for the justifi-*
‘ *cation and encouragement of all persons*
‘ *to be employed in the execution thereof.* No
‘ *warrant or mittimus* shall be made void,
‘ or reversed, for any default in the form:
‘ And if a person fly from one county
‘ or corporation to another, his goods
‘ and chattels shall be seizable wherever
‘ they are found. If the party offend-
‘ ing be a wife co-habiting with her hus-
‘ band, the fine shall be levied on the
‘ goods and chattels of the husband, pro-
‘ vided the prosecution be within three
‘ months.

‘ THE wit of man, says Mr. Neal,
‘ could hardly invent any thing short of
‘ capital punishment, more cruel and in-
‘ human. One would have thought such
‘ a merciful Prince as King *Charles II.*
‘ who had often declared against persecu-
‘ tion, should not have consented to it;
‘ and that no Christian Bishop should
‘ have voted for it. Mens houses are to
‘ be

‘ be plundered, their persons imprisoned,
 ‘ their goods and chattels carried away,
 ‘ and sold to those who would bid for
 ‘ them. Encouragement is given to a
 ‘ vile set of *Informers*, and others, to
 ‘ live upon the labour and industry of
 ‘ their conscientious neighbours. Multi-
 ‘ tudes of these sordid creatures spent their
 ‘ profits in ill houses, and upon leud
 ‘ women, and then went about streets
 ‘ again to hunt for further prey. The
 ‘ law is to be construed in the favour of
 ‘ these wretches, and the power to be
 ‘ lodged in the hand of every single Jus-
 ‘ tice of Peace; who is to be fined five
 ‘ pounds if he refuses his warrant. Upon
 ‘ this many honest men, who would not
 ‘ be the instruments of such severities,
 ‘ left the bench, and would sit there no
 ‘ longer.

‘ GREAT numbers were prosecuted
 ‘ on this Act *, and many industrious
 ‘ families reduced to poverty. Many
 ‘ ministers were confined in goals and
 ‘ close prisons; and warrants were issued
 ‘ out against them, and their hearers, to
 ‘ the amount of great sums of money. In
 ‘ the diocese of *Salisbury* the persecution
 ‘ was hottest, by the instigation of Bishop
 ‘ *Ward*; many hundreds being prosecuted
 ‘ with great industry, and driven from

* *Neal*, Vol. IV. p. 429.

‘ their

' their families and trades. The Act was
 ' executed with such severity in *Starling's*
 ' mayoralty, that many of the trading
 ' men in the city were removing with
 ' their effects to *Holland*, 'till the King
 ' put a stop to it. *Informers* were every
 ' where at work; and having crept into
 ' religious assemblies in disguise, levied
 ' great sums of money upon ministers
 ' and people. Soldiers broke into the
 ' houses of honest Farmers, under pre-
 ' tence of searching for conventicles; and
 ' where ready money was wanting, they
 ' plundered their goods, drove away their
 ' cattle, and sold them for half price:
 ' These vile creatures were not only en-
 ' couraged, but pushed on vehemently
 ' by their *spiritual guides*. For this pur-
 ' pose Archbishop *Skeldon* sent another
 ' circular letter to all the Bishops of his
 ' province; and copies of this letter were
 ' sent by the Archdeacons to the of-
 ' ficers of the several parishes within
 ' their jurisdictions, earnestly desiring
 ' them to take a special care to perform
 ' whatsoever is therein required, and to
 ' give an account at the next visitation.
 ' Many of the Bishops chose to lie be-
 ' hind the curtain, and throw off the
 ' odium from themselves to the *Civil*
 ' *Magistrate*: But some of the more zea-
 ' lous could not forbear appearing in
 ' VOL. II. P person

‘ person; as Bishop *Ward*, already men-
‘ tioned, and Bishop *Gunning*, who of-
‘ ten disturbed the *Meetings* in person.
‘ Once finding the doors shut, he or-
‘ dered the Constable to break them o-
‘ pen with a sledge. Another time he
‘ sat upon the bench at the Quarter-Ses-
‘ sions: Upon which the Chairman de-
‘ sired his Lordship to give the *Charge*,
‘ which he refusing, received a very
‘ handsome rebuke; it being hardly con-
‘ sistent with one that is an Ambassador of
‘ the prince of peace, to set in judg-
‘ ment upon the consciences of his poor
‘ countrymen and neighbours, in order
‘ to plunder and tear them to pieces.
‘ The Bishop was so zealous in the cause,
‘ that he sunk his character by giving
‘ a publick challenge to the *Presbyterians*,
‘ *Independants*, *Anabaptists* and *Quakers*;
‘ and appointed three days for the dis-
‘ putation. On the first of which his
‘ Lordship went into the pulpit in the
‘ Church, where was a considerable con-
‘ gregation, and charged the former with
‘ sedition and rebellion out of their books,
‘ but would hear no reply. When the
‘ day came to dispute with the *Quakers*,
‘ they summoned their friends; and when
‘ the Bishop railed, they paid him in his
‘ own coin, and followed him to his
‘ very

‘ very house, with repeated cries, the
‘ *Hireling fleeth*.

MR. *Vavafor Powell*, was in these times greatly harrassed by his persecutors. The *High Sheriff* of the county of *Montgomery*, for his refusing to give over preaching, according to his prohibition, had wrote to Secretary *Morrice*, and accused him of *Sedition*, *Rebellion* and *Treason*. And before he received a return, so willing was he to be doing, that he directed a warrant to apprehend him, and so he became a *Prisoner*, and continued such several months; all ordinary ways of relief by law allowed in such cases, being wholly obstructed.

Vavafor Powell imprisoned in Wales.

WHEN the Sessions came on, after much importunity, Mr. *Powell* was called, but instead of being released, or having just cause rendered why he should be continued in prison, the oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* were tendered to him; and upon his refusal of taking those oaths, so arbitrarily imposed, he was again committed to *Prison*, the Judge refusing to take any bail for him till the next Sessions.

BUT he had not long continued there, when upon a false information, Mr. *Wickham*, a messenger of the Council, was sent down with a warrant to bring him before the King and Council. From

Is brought before the King and Council, and sent to the Fleet Prison.

whence he was sent to the *Fleet-Prison*; where he was detained almost two years; and for twelve months in so close a confinement, that he was not suffered to go out of his chamber. Which, together with the offensive smell of a dunghill under his window, did so much impair his health, that he never after perfectly recovered it.

*Is remov'd
to South-
Sea Castle.*

FROM the *Fleet* in 1662, he was suddenly removed to *South-Sea Castle* near *Portsmouth*, where he continued about five years; and upon the removal of Chancellor *Hide*, he and many others sued for an *Habeas Corpus*, and so at length he obtained his liberty.

THIS scarcely lasted ten months. For one *George Jones*, the Parson of *Merthur* in *Glamorganshire*, a man noted for whoredom, drunkenness, cheating, and putting away his wife, made complaint, and false information against him, before two deputy *Lieutenants*; and swore, that Mr. *Powell*, and the congregation to which he preached, were met near two miles from *Cardiff*, and many of them armed; both which were false. Yet upon this information, or deposition, a warrant was granted against him; and he was thereupon apprehended and imprisoned again at *Cardiff*; and at a general meeting of the deputy *Lieutenants* at *Cowbridge*, on the 17th of *October*, he was
exa-

*Is impri-
son'd again
in Wales.*

examined before them, by an *Officer* of the *Bishop's Court*; the contents of which you may find in his *Life*, too long to be inserted here.

UPON the eighth of *November*, 1668, and the thirteenth of *January* following, he was convened before the *Justices*, and the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* tendered to him. Much *pro* and *con*, as may be seen in his *Life*, was spent upon this subject. In conclusion, Mr. *Powell* asked, whether they would be pleased to take sufficient bail till the next Sessions?

* The *Justices* were silent. But the *Jaylor* made answer publicly, No. Says Mr. *Powell*, Sir, are you one of the *Judges* of the Court, that your No should stand? But the *Justices* did not give him the least check for his sauciness. Then *P.* said further; Gentlemen, I have been near eight years a *Prisoner*, and in thirteen *Prisons*, and yet in all these, I have not received so much incivility as from this man, Mr. *Jaylor*; and therefore I desire liberty to take a private chamber in the town, giving security for my true imprisonment. But to this the *Justices* returned no answer; but commanded the *Jaylor* to take the *Prisoner* away, which was done accordingly, and re-

* *Powell's Life*, p. 187, &c.

Is remov'd
to the Com-
mon Pleas
bar West-
minster.

‘ turned to Prison again. About three
‘ months after this, a friend in *London* got
‘ a *Habeas Corpus*, to remove him to the
‘ *Common Pleas* bar; which the *Sheriff*
‘ refused to obey. Then came an *Alias*,
‘ under penalty of 100*l.* upon which
‘ they sent him up; but would not let
‘ him know of his journey before hand,
‘ But about eight o’clock one night, the
‘ *Under-Sheriff* came to give him notice
‘ to be gone in half an hour, and so
‘ took him with a guard, eight miles
‘ that night, being the sixteenth of the
‘ eighth month 1669; and brought him
‘ to *Westminster* to the *Common Pleas* bar
‘ the twenty second of the same; where,
‘ upon the examination of the return, it
‘ was found illegal. But *S. M.* their
‘ Council, pleaded he had not time to
‘ view it, and desired time till next day,
‘ which the Judges granted.

‘ THEREUPON *Mr. P.* moved the
‘ Court to take bail then, and discharge
‘ his guard; which had been granted,
‘ but that *S. M.* said, No, my Lord, then
‘ he will go preach. To which the *Pri-*
‘ *soner* replied, that it was as lawful for
‘ him to preach, as for him to talk
‘ there at the bar.

‘ THE next day he was brought in-
‘ to the Court again; and the return
‘ was again argued, the *Prisoner* having
‘ the liberty to open his case himself.

‘ And

‘ And tho’ the return was by all the
 ‘ Judges judged false and and illegal;
 ‘ yet was Mr. *Powell* committed to the
 ‘ *Fleet Prison* by the Court; where he
 ‘ remained a Prisoner from the twenty-
 ‘ fourth of the third month, 1669, ’till
 ‘ he was discharged by death, the twenty-
 ‘ seventh of the eight month, 1670.

It was about this time, that some *A disputa-
tion be-
tween the
Baptists
and Qua-
kers.* bickerings happened between some of the
Baptists, and some of the people called
Quakers, in or about *High Wicomb* in
Buckinghamshire; occasioned by some-
 thing a *Baptist* preacher had said from
 the pulpit, against the *Quakers* doctrines,
 but especially something that *William
 Penn* had written. It came at length
 to this issue, that a publick dispute was
 to be holden at *Wicomb*, between *Jer.
 Ives*, who espoused his brother’s Cause,
 and *William Penn*.

Ives argued against *the light within*,
 and *universal grace conferred by God on
 all men*. At last, after a long disputa-
 tion, when neither side could agree with
 the other, *Ives* stept down and departed,
 with a purpose to have broken up the
 Assembly: But the *Quakers* staid and
 harangued the people. Which Mr. *Ives*
 understanding, came in again, and ex-
 pressed his dislike at the procedure; as
 well he might be displeased at the de-
 taining

taining of the people in order to prejudice them to their side.

HOWEVER the *Quakers* remaining thus masters of the field of battle, triumphed ; and *Thomas Ellwood* sent a brief account of their victory to his friend *Isaac Pennington* (by his Son and Servant who returned home, tho' it was late that evening) in the following distich : *

‘ *Prævaluit veritas ; inimici terga dedere :*
 ‘ *Nos sumus in tuto ; laus tribuenda Deo.*

Which he thus englishes :

‘ Truth hath prevail’d, the enemies did
 ‘ fly ; *(high.*
 ‘ We are in safety ; praise to God on

BUT he had no such occasion to triumph at *Jeremy Ives’s* quitting the disputation, since it was time by what I can find, to give it over ; for it was very late in the evening before Esq; *Pennington’s* son and servant set out homewards.

‘ BUT both they [*Baptists*] and we
 ‘ (*Quakers*) saith *Ellwood*, had quickly
 ‘ other work found us : It soon became
 ‘ a stormy time ; the clouds had been
 ‘ long gathering, and threatened a tem-
 ‘ pest ; the parliament had sat some-
 ‘ time before, and hatched that unaccoun-

* *Ellwood’s Life*, p. 273.

‘ table law, which was called the *con-*
‘ *venticle Act*: If that may be allowed
‘ to be called a law, by whomsoever
‘ made, which was so directly contrary
‘ to the fundamental laws of *England*,
‘ to common justice, equity and right
‘ reason, as this manifestly was. For,

‘ 1. IT brake down, and overrun the
‘ bounds and banks, antiently set for the
‘ defence and security of *Englishmen’s*
‘ lives, liberties and properties, *viz. Trial*
‘ *by Juries*: Instead thereof, directing
‘ and authorizing Justices of the Peace,
‘ and that too, privately, out of *Sessions*,
‘ to convict, fine, and by their warrants
‘ distrein upon offenders against it, di-
‘ rectly contrary to the *great charter*.

‘ 2. BY that Act, the *Informers*, who
‘ swear for their own advantage, as be-
‘ ing thereby entitled to a third part
‘ of the fines, were many times conceal-
‘ ed, driving on an underhand private
‘ trade; so that men might be, and
‘ often were, convicted and fined without
‘ having any notice or knowledge of it,
‘ ’till the Officers came and took away
‘ their goods; nor even then could they
‘ tell by whose evidence they were con-
‘ victed: Than which, what could be
‘ more opposite to common justice?
‘ which requires, that every man should
‘ be openly charged, and have his ac-
‘ cuser face to face; that he might both
‘ answer

‘ answer for himself, before he be convicted, and object to the validity of the evidence given against him.

‘ 3. BY that Act, the innocent were punished for the offences of the guilty. If the wife or child was convicted of having been at one of those assemblies, which by that Act was adjudged unlawful, the fine was levied on the goods of the husband or father of such wife or child; though he was neither present at such an assembly, nor was of the same religious persuasion that they were of; but perhaps an enemy to it.

‘ 4. IT was left to the arbitrary pleasure of the Justices, to lay half the fine for the house or ground where such assembly was holden, and half the fine for a pretended unknown preacher; and the whole fines of such, and so many of the meeters as they should account poor, upon any other or others of the people who were present at the same meeting, not exceeding a certain limited sum, without any regard to equity or reason; and, yet this, such blindness doth the spirit of persecution bring on men, otherwise sharp-sighted enough, that this unlawful, unjust, unequal, unreasonable, and unrighteous law took place in almost all places, and was vigorously

‘gorously prosecuted against the meetings of *Dissenters* in general.’

WHEN the Bishops had obtained this law, they and some others of the Clergy of all ranks, and some others too over-officious persons, encouraged all they could *Informers*, and preferred to ecclesiastical offices such as they thought would be most obsequious and active this way. Yet it took not alike every where; but some were forwarder in the work than others, according as the *Agents* employ’d therein had been predisposed thereto.

FOR in some parts of the nation, says P. 276. *Ellwood*, care had been timely taken by some, not of the lowest rank, to chuse out some particular persons, men of sharp wit, close countenances, pliant tempers, and deep dissimulation, and send them forth among the *Sectaries*, so called, with instructions to thrust themselves into all societies, conform to all, or any sort of religious professions — In a word, to be all things to all, not that they might win some, but that they might, if possible, ruin all, at least many. The drift of this design was, that by this means, they who employ’d them, might get a full account of the number of dissenting meetings in each county, when they were kept, what number of persons frequented them, and of what ranks, who
: were

were persons of estates, and where they lived, that they might know where afterwards to cast their nets with advantage. He who was sent on this errand in the county of *Bucks*, adventured to thrust himself on a *Quaker*, as one of their number. But being suspected by him, and thereon dismissed unentertained, he betook himself to an inn, and there getting a little disordered in liquor, he discovered what he was, and that he was sent forth by Dr. *Mew*, then Vice-chancellor of *Oxford*, on the design before related, and under the protection of Justice *Morton*; a warrant under whose hand and seal he there produced.

SENSIBLE of his error too late, when sleep had restored him to some degree of sense, and vexed at the successlessness of his attempt on the *Quakers*, he left that place, and crossing the country, cast himself among the *Baptists*, at a meeting they held in a private place, of which the over easy credulity of some who went among them (when he had craftily insinuated himself into their favour) gave him notice. The entertainment he met amongst them deserved a better return than he made them; for having smoothly wrought himself into their good opinion, and cunningly drawn some of them into an unwary freedom, and openness of conversation with him,
upon

upon the unpleasing subject of the severity of the times, he most villanously impeached one of them whose name was — *Headach*, a man well reputed amongst his neighbours, of having spoken *treasonable words*, and thereby brought the man in danger of losing both his estate and life, had not a seasonable discovery of his abominable practices elsewhere (imprinting terrour, the effect of guilt, upon his mind) caused him to fly both out of the *Court* and *Country*, at the very instant of time, when the honest man stood at the bar, to be arraigned upon his false accusation: For he on the laying this false charge on the *Baptists*, was forced to lay off his *vizor*. And now the better to act, he resolved to get a partner, which he soon after did, one who was not long before released out of *Ailsbury* goal, where he had been put for cow-stealing.

THE country-people not knowing their names, called the one, the *Trepan*, the other the *Informer*; tho' afterwards they came to know, that the one was named *John Poulter*, a butcher of *Salisbury's* son, an egregiously wicked fellow; and that the *Informer* was called *Lacy* of *Risborough*.

THESE two resolved to make the first onset on a *Quakers* meeting, in the parish of *St. Giles Chalfont*, in the coun-

ty

ty of *Bucks*: But wanting a place to lurk in, they were obliged to apply to Parson *Philips*. Very ready, able, and willing to assist them, he recommended them to one *Anne Dell*, once his parishioner, but since removed to a farm called *Whites*, in the parish of *Beaconsfield*; who readily received them, and what she had was at their command. She had two sons; the youngest of them *John Dell*, hoping to enrich himself with the spoil of their honest neighbours, listed himself with his mother's new guests, as their guide, who were too much strangers to know the names of any persons they were to inform against.

ON *July* twenty fourth they came to the *Quakers* meeting; but *Poulter* did not stay in the country long after; for he was discovered to have christened a *Cat*, as the term is, by the name of *Catherine Catherina*, in derision of the *Queen*, and of feloniously taking certain goods from one of *Brainford*, whom also he had cheated of money. These things forced him to leave the country. And thus *Headach* was preserved, and the *Quakers* delivered at that time.

THO' it pleased God to put a stop, in a great measure, to the persecution in this county, yet it was carried on with very great severity and rigour in other parts both of the city and country: The worst
of

of men, for the most part, being set up for *Informers*, the worst of Magistrates encouraging and abetting them; and the worst of Priests, who first began to blow the fire, now seeing how it spread, clapping their hands and hallooing them on to this evil work.

THE people thus set on by the encouragement of Magistrates and wicked Priests, their enmity rose to such a pitch against the *Baptists*, that they denied the benefit of the common burying places. Yea, so inhuman, says Mr. *Grantbam*, hath been the usage of some, that they have been taken out of their graves, drawn upon a sledge to their own gates, and there left unburied. ‘ Thus, says he, did the inhabitants of *Croft* in the county of *Lincoln*, deal by one *Robert Shalder*, a baptized believer, in the year 1666, to the infamy of the vile doers of that cruel act; whilst this epitaph lives, to keep in memory their cruel action :

‘ Sleep, pious *Shalder*, sleep in thy
‘ sequestred grave,
‘ Christ’s faith thou well didst keep,
‘ maugre the fiercest wave
‘ Which Satan’s storms could raise against
‘ thy faith, and now
‘ In vain he findeth ways, his malice
‘ still to shew.

‘ Thy

Christian-
ismus Pri-
mitivus,
Lib. 3. c.
10.

- ' Thy Saviour had no grave, but what
 ' a friend did lend;
 ' Enough, if the servant have like fa-
 ' vour at the end.
 ' And now thy faith divine, I'll pin
 ' upon thy herse,
 ' It bright, tho' brief doth shine; *Heb.*
 ' vi. 1, 2, verse.

Robert
Shalder taken
out of
the grave.

THIS Mr. *Shalder* had suffered much by imprisonment for his zeal towards God, and dying soon after his release from prison, was interred in the common burying-ground amongst his ancestors. The same day that he was buried, certain of the inhabitants of *Croft* in the county of *Lincoln*, opened his grave, took him from thence, and dragged him upon a sledge to his own gates, and left him there; upon which some verses were written, and placed upon the grave, entitled, *The Dead Man's Complaint*, designed to check the envy of the Spiritual Court, who thus disgraced the dead. Part of which ran as follows:

Your sad presenting men alive and dead,
What text will warrant, where can it be
read?

That *Christ* his *Church*, did ever thus proceed

'Gainst any man. Oh! then behold your
dead.

Whilst

Whilst you pretend to christianity,
 Shew that you have no true humanity :
 Let *Croft* beware, if she behave her thus,
 Her actions prove not sadly ominous ;
 Of some impending evils (at the least
 Such as my corps being us'd worse than
 a beast :)

On them or theirs ; for as the Lord is just,
 He'll plead his servants cause, tho' in the
 dust.

They lie without regard from men, yet he
 Accounts they touch the apple of his eye,
 That toucheth his, nor shall it long time be,
 Ere I your face before his face shall see,
 And there implead you at his awful bar,
 For that which you have done. Oh ! then
 prepare,

For death tends on you, as he did on me,
 And you must to the same mortality.

THE chief actors in this inhumanity,
 so prodigiously rude and unnatural, did
 not long survive it. For one of them died
 suddenly, and the other languished for
 some time ; being greatly terrified with
 the remembrance of what he had done
 to the dead.

IT was about this time that Mr. Ro- R. Wright
bert Wright conformed to the Church of ^{conforms}
England. He had been a *Baptist* preach- ^{to the esta-}
 er, but was excluded for his irregular life ^{blished}
 and conversation. He continued in his ^{Church:}
 evil course of life some years, and hav-

ing spent his estate, in the end made application to the then Bishop of *Lincoln* for some benefice, promising to renounce his principles of baptism, and preach against the *Baptists*. The Bishop accepted his offer, and he was accordingly admitted into their ministry, and preached up the Baptism of infants in opposition to that of believers. This did not a little affect the generality of the Church people, who from the impetuous discourses and daring pretences of this suppos'd champion, expected that most, if not all the ministers of the baptized churches would be easily overcome. The *Baptists* in order to vindicate themselves, did in the open Assize time, draw, and post up four papers, containing a challenge or protestation against the said Mr. *Wright*, as follows:

Manu-
script penes
me.

‘ *To the citizens and inhabitants of the*
‘ *city and county of Lincoln, salu-*
‘ *tation.*

‘ **F**ORASMUCH as you have heard,
‘ that one *Robert Wright*, once a
‘ member of the churches reproachfully
‘ call’d *Anabaptists*, hath lately recanted
‘ his principles; in token whereof he
‘ hath preached publicly in the city of
‘ *Lincoln*, by allowance of the Bishop or
‘ Clergy of the same, to the great re-
‘ proach

' proach of the truth, touching the bap-
 ' tism of repentance for the remission of
 ' sins : Know therefore, that if the said
 ' *Robert Wright* will accept of a friendly
 ' conference in the place where he preach-
 ' ed, and shall give convenient and pub-
 ' lick notice of the same, he shall find
 ' some, if God permit, to maintain the
 ' doctrine and baptism of repentance to
 ' be from heaven, and the sprinkling
 ' and crossing of Infants to be man's tra-
 ' dition.

' *The 11th day of the 1st month (Vulg.)*
 ' March, 1670.

' Written by *Tho. Grantham*.
 ' Posted by *Wm. Pann*.

Two of these papers which were set
 above the hill were taken down in the
 morning, and, as was supposed, carried
 to the Bishop and the Judge ; the other
 two below the hill, were read by many,
 and in the afternoon taken down by the
 Clergy, who threatened that they who
 wrote them should answer for it before the
 council-table. However, nothing more
 was done, but the drawing up an angry
 ill-natured paper, which was sent to the
Baptists by Mr. *William Silvertou*, the
 Bishop's Chaplain, dated from *Scroaby*,
Aug. 6. 1669 : By which it appeared,
 how much he was chafed at the *Baptists*

proceedings; nor was the Bishop himself a little moved upon the same account, as was then well known. Mr. *Grantham*, to check the confidence of Mr. *Silverton*, drew up some counter positions and concluded his answer thus:

‘ FINALLY, Whereas Mr. *Silverton* saith, he will defend his propositions; it is hereby certified, that if he will either publish any thing upon the last two proposals, or dispute of them peaceably in a free audience, some of those whom he in the height of his wit stiles, *erroneous antick Baptists*, are resolved in the strength of Christ, to hear and try that which he shall declare, time and place being convenient.

‘ *Thomas Grantham.*

THIS paper was delivered to Mr. *Silverton* by *William Pann*; but Mr. *Silverton* neither thought fit to enter into the controversy by disputation, nor to make any reply by writing, and so his great boasting ended in a shameful silence.

Persecutions in Sussex.

THIS year was published a *Narrative of the late proceedings of some Justices and others, pretending to put in execution the late act against Conventicles; against several peaceable people in and about the town of*

of Lewes in Suffex, only for their being quietly met to worship God : Together with a brief account of the like proceedings against some at Brighthelmstone, and others at Chillington in the same county.

THE Author of this Narrative begins with a short epistle thus :

READER,

‘ THOU art here presented with an
 ‘ account of some proceedings,
 ‘ pretended to be grounded upon the late
 ‘ Act against *Conventicles*. Of the Act
 ‘ itself I say nothing at all ; nor do I
 ‘ call these proceedings pretended to be
 ‘ grounded thereon, either arbitrary or
 ‘ illegal. Read, and be judge thyself :
 ‘ Only be sure of this ; that thou hast
 ‘ a *faithful narrative*. What you find
 ‘ therein, relating to the conviction of
 ‘ these persons, was reported by some
 ‘ *Officers* then present, or dropt from the
 ‘ *Informers* themselves : And the witness
 ‘ of an enemy (we use to say) is a double
 ‘ testimony.

‘ THAT, of the unreasonableness of the
 ‘ distress, &c. will (if occasion require)
 ‘ be attested by many, who were both
 ‘ eye and ear witnesses ; for *these things*
 ‘ *were not done in a corner*. Many material
 ‘ circumstances are herein, for brevity
 ‘ sake, omitted ; none but what are

Q 3

‘ upon

‘ upon due examination found true in-
‘ serted. The design of this *Narrative*
‘ is not to imbitter the spirits of any a-
‘ gainst *lawful superiors*. And I dare be
‘ so charitable as to judge, that such a
‘ design would be as contrary to these
‘ *sufferers* themselves, being men that are
‘ peaceable, and faithful in the land. In
‘ matters of the kingdom, malice itself
‘ can find nothing wherewith to accuse
‘ them; only in this matter of their God.
‘ And when they suffered thus the spoil-
‘ ing of their goods, they endured it with
‘ patience and joyfulness. But my end
‘ in this relation, is for the general in-
‘ formation of all; that those who are
‘ fellow sufferers with them in this cause,
‘ may not think strange of these fiery
‘ trials; knowing that the same are
‘ accomplished in their brethren that are
‘ in the world; who are with them
‘ filling up that which is behind of the
‘ sufferings of *Christ*. Besides, hereby
‘ these harsh proceedings against a *peacea-*
‘ *ble people*, may come to the ear of some
‘ in authority, who may, out of pity
‘ to the distressed, and justice to their
‘ righteous cause, redress these grievances.
‘ And who knows, but that, (as *Morde-*
‘ *cai* said of *Esther*) some of them are
‘ come to these places of trust for such a
‘ time as this? Wishing (whoever thou art
‘ that readest these lines) that thou mayest
‘ never

‘ never meet with the like severity from
 ‘ any, that these have done from some ;
 ‘ I refer thee to the *Narrative* itself,
 ‘ which immediately ensueth :

‘ ON the twenty-ninth of *May*, 1670.
 ‘ being the Lord’s-day, says the *Author*,
 ‘ [whom I take to be Mr. *Jerem. Ives*]
 ‘ some christians in and about *Lewes*,
 ‘ in the county of *Sussex*, (to the num-
 ‘ ber of 500, say their adversaries) were
 ‘ met together to hear the word of God,
 ‘ and that they might, if possible, avoid
 ‘ exasperating their enemies on one hand,
 ‘ and provide for their own security on
 ‘ the other, the meeting was appointed at
 ‘ three a-clock afternoon (by reason of the
 ‘ peoples being at the publick) an hour
 ‘ of the greatest privacy. People were
 ‘ appointed to go to a house, where usu-
 ‘ ally they met, within a mile of *Lewes* ;
 ‘ but from thence were directed to a pri-
 ‘ vate by-lane, within a quarter of a mile
 ‘ of the house. This may be enough to
 ‘ take of that imputation of contempt
 ‘ of authority, so frequently cast upon
 ‘ them by some ; and that of rashness
 ‘ as frequently objected by others.

THERE were two persons, who seeing some people go that way, followed them to the place of meeting, and became *In-*
formers. Upon which Sir *Thomas Nutt*,
 a violent persecutor, and three other
 Justices, whom he had drawn into a com-

Relf and
Goring.

Sir. Tho.
Nutt, a
violent
persecutor.

pliance with him, convicts the *Minister* and above forty of the hearers, without hearing what they had to plead in their own defence.

*Many fin'd
for being
at a meet-
ing.*

THE hearers were fined 5 s. a piece, and the minister 20 l. The minister's fine was laid upon five of the hearers; so that *Walter Brett* and *Thomas Barnard* were fined each 6 l. 5 s. *Richard White* 3 l. 15 s. *Thomas Ridge* 1 l. 10 s. and the rest in smaller fines; the lowest 5 s. Warrants were issued out under the hands of the Justices for recovery of the said fines by distress and sale of goods; and directed to the Constable of the hundred, the Church-wardens and Overseers of the parish. And, says the Author of the Narrative, 'after one of the warrants, 'and beneath the hands and seals of the 'Justices, was written as a postscript somewhat to this purpose, *That all other 'officers whatever were required, within 'their liberties, to assist the said officers in 'making the distress.*

P. 3.

*Warrant
granted to
make di-
stresses.*

'SIR *Thomas Nutt* sends out these warrants by his Clerk; who carrying them to the Headborough of *Ringmire*, told him, that Sir *Thomas* had sent him those warrants, and that if he knew any others that had been at the meeting, he must put in their names, and levy 5 s. a piece of them. The Headborough telling him he was at church,

‘ church, and so knew not who was at
‘ the meeting; the other reply’d, that if he
‘ heard of any that were there he should
‘ put them in.

‘ THE constable declared to one of
‘ the Justices, that he would rather for-
‘ feit his 5*l.* than act. The Justice
‘ told him he was only to go with
‘ them, and see the peace kept; it was
‘ the others that were to distrain: Which
‘ he did accordingly, but would not med-
‘ dle in the distress.

ON the first of *June* they began to *P. 4:*
make their distresses, and took from
John Prior (who was fined 10*s.* for *Distress*
himself and his wife) four cheeses: *made on*
He only told them, *he never sold any* *J Prior.*
thing for so great advantage, for this
would bring him in an hundred fold.
Within a few days after, he was by war-
rant brought before Sir *Thomas*, for
bidding *Goring* the informer, repent of
being such a *Judas*, and warning him of
the judgment to come. But Sir *Thomas*
only obliged him to pay 2*s.* for the
warrant. On the same day they made
distress upon *Thomas Ridge*, being fined *And on*
30*s.* and took as many goods from his *T. Ridge.*
shop as amounted to 50*s.* He peaceably
submitted, only assuring them, *he parted*
as willingly with them as with any goods
he ever sold. They would have deposited
their spoil at the sign of the *Cats* in the
Cliff,

Cliff, but the master of the house, tho' a churchman, said he would let no such goods come within his doors; which made them take up quarters in another place.

On Rich.
Whiteand

ON the seventeenth of *June*, at the town of *Lewes*, they distrained from *Rich. White* as many brass kettles, with a still, which were worth 10 *l.* 13 *s.* tho' his fine was but 3 *l.* 15 *s.* From *Richard Thomas*, a butcher, they took his weights for 5 *s.* From *Edward Henly*, a shoemaker, they took five pair of shoes; his fine was 5 *s.* From *Samuel Cruttenden*, a haberdasher, they took three hats, worth 15 *s.* for 5 *s.* From *Thomas Elphick*, a shoemaker, three pair of shoes, worth 9 *s.* for 5 *s.* From *Richard Bennet*, a taylor, fined 10 *s.* they plunder'd his kitchen; taking goods of several sorts. From *Edward Whiskets*, a victualler, fined 5 *s.* they took goods to a considerable value. From *Nicholas Grisbrooks*, a blacksmith, they took, amongst other things, part of a flitch of bacon.

Richard
Thomas,
Edward
Henly,
Samuel
Cruttenden,

Thomas
Elphick,
Richard
Bennet,

Edward
Whiskets,

N. Gris-
brooks,

J. Tabret,

June the twentieth, *John Tabret* of the *Cliff*, fined 55 *s.* they took from him a cow. She not liking her new masters, at night returned home, but they soon fetch'd her back again.

William
Humphry,

June the twenty first, they visit *Lewes* again, and took from *William Humphry*, a barber, a looking-glass of a considerable value, with other things belonging to his

his employment. Entering the house of *Benjamin Wood*, a mason, they took the sheets from the bed, and four of the good woman's new shifts, but she being unwilling to part with them, redeemed them by paying the 5 s. for which they distrained. They plundered the shop of *John Knapp*, a barber, fined 5 s. He desired them, amongst the rest, to take Mr. *Dodd's* sayings hanging by; but, says the *Author*, them they refuse, knowing, be-like, that they prophesied no good to them. From *Henry Owden's*, a carpenter, fined 5 s. they took a good musket and a jack, worth 10 s. From *Thomas Tourle*, a butcher, fined 5 s. they took his horse. And from *Richard Mantle* they took another, for the like fine. They took from *Walter Brett*, a grocer, fined 6 l. 5 s. two barrels of sugar, which cost him above 15 l.

Benjamin Wood,

J. Knapp,

Henry Owden,

T. Tourle,

R. Mantle,

Walter Brett.

Two days after this, says the *Author*, being the twenty third of June, these *mauling* officers rally their forces, consisting of *Relp* the informer, a brother of *Goring's* the informer, and another, who encouraged by *Sir Thomas Nutt*, newly entered on that employment. To which the Constable and Headborough of that hundred, within which *Northease* farm in the parish of *Radmill* lies, being added, they intend to make a distress there for 11 l. 10 s. being

P. 7, 8, &c.

• being the fines imposed on *Thomas* and
• *Richard Barnard* of *Lewes*. The dis-
• tressors pretended, that these brothers
• were with their mother partners in the
• stock, and the goods by partnership
• distrainable. It was offered to be made
• appear, that *Thomas*, upon whom 6 l. 5 s.
• of the fine was laid, had no propriety
• in the stock for above three years past.
• But it seems they think it a good rea-
• son, that his mother (though not at
• the meeting) should pay for him, as
• that he should pay for others. Besides,
• when these things were questioned to
• Sir *Thomas Nutt*, he bid them distrain
• however: For, said he, come the
• worst, they can but appeal to us. The
• distressors comfort themselves also with
• this, that how illegally soever they act,
• persons can but appeal to the sessions,
• and they have four of the Justices
• hands to their warrant already. Sir
• *Thomas* told one whilst this distress was
• levying, that if he pleased he would
• levy their fines upon him, and how
• would he help himself, though the par-
• ty were not at the meeting.

• BEFORE these blades could make up
• their full company, the oxen, which
• *Buckland* had especially threatned, were
• by the servants belonging to the farm
• locked up. When the Constable came,
• *Buckland* commands him to break the
• door.

‘ door. The Constable demanded of him
‘ a warrant to empower him to do it.
‘ Many fore strains *Buckland* himself gave
‘ the door, but finding himself prevented
‘ here, in a fume he steers his course ano-
‘ ther way, threatening that he would take
‘ the whole herd of about twenty cows ;
‘ upon which the dairy-maid is said to tell
‘ him, *that then she believed they would*
‘ *have store of fillibubs, having gotten so*
‘ *much sugar from Mr. Brett.* The bars
‘ where the cows were, being lockt, the
‘ Constable durst not break them open,
‘ at least not without a warrant. *Buck-*
‘ *land* took his old warrant out of his
‘ pocket, and purposely misreading it,
‘ would have made the Constable believe,
‘ that he was included in the warrant ;
‘ and producing the act (at the rate he
‘ read it) made as if that clause, empow-
‘ ering the breaking open of a house
‘ in order to the taking of a meeting,
‘ had empowered him to break open
‘ upon a distrefs. Moreover *Buckland* of-
‘ fered him his word, if not his bond,
‘ to bear him harmless ; but his word and
‘ bond were both of like value in the Con-
‘ stable’s account ; who willing to have
‘ better security for what he did, imme-
‘ diately went to the Justices concerned
‘ in the conviction, desiring a special war-
‘ rant to break open if he must do it.
‘ Two of them civilly told him they
‘ should

‘ should give out no other warrant.
 ‘ Sir *Thomas Nutt* could say more than
 ‘ both the others; he tells him, that the
 ‘ Constables at *Lewes* had broke open
 ‘ doors, and so might he as well: A
 ‘ further warrant he denied him, but
 ‘ threatned immediately to fine him if he
 ‘ did not assist them in the distress.

‘ THEY were from eight in the morn-
 ‘ ing till nigh two in the afternoon, be-
 ‘ fore they made their distress.

‘ *Buckland* sent to *Lewes*, being about
 ‘ two miles, to inform Sir *Thomas Nutt*,
 ‘ that there was such a company there,
 ‘ that he dare hardly to do his office.
 ‘ Upon which Sir *Thomas* was heard to say,
 ‘ that he would make a riot of it, and
 ‘ that it should cost the two *Barnards* an
 ‘ 100 *l.* a man. It seems there were pre-
 ‘ sent most of the servants, few else; and
 ‘ these only to be witnesses of what was
 ‘ done; the best armed amongst them
 ‘ had only an ox-goad, which was he
 ‘ that drove the oxen. It seems *Buck-*
 ‘ *land* esteemed him a second *Shamgar*, &c.

Distress on
Tho. and
Richard
Barnard.

‘ THE Constable returns in great per-
 ‘ plexity; if he breaks the door he lays
 ‘ himself open to an action from the own-
 ‘ ers; if he do not, Sir *Thomas* threatens
 ‘ that he shall be fined; who in such cases
 ‘ useth not to be worse then his word.
 ‘ The Constable chose rather, though im-
 ‘ portunately desired by *Buckland* to break
 ‘ open

‘ open the bars for cows, than the barn
 ‘ for oxen. They took six cows, three
 ‘ of which, indifferently sold, would more
 ‘ than countervail their fines. One of
 ‘ the parties distrained told them, he won-
 ‘ dred that men skilled in the worth of
 ‘ cattle, should make such an unreason-
 ‘ able distress. *Buckland* replied, but we
 ‘ take one for your peremptoriness, and
 ‘ another for our pains. Some of their
 ‘ own gang report, that the distrainers
 ‘ will get above 10*l.* apiece by the bar-
 ‘ gain — There was severally by both
 ‘ the persons distrained demands made of
 ‘ a copy of the warrant, which the other
 ‘ refused to give them. They then de-
 ‘ manded the sight of it, which was
 ‘ likewise denied.

‘ THE six kine aforesaid, says the
 ‘ *Author*, were driven to *Buckland's*, who
 ‘ had some land he hired, that wanted
 ‘ stock. The next Saturday sevensnight,
 ‘ being the second of *July*, these with
 ‘ the cow taken from *John Tabret*, were
 ‘ brought to *Lewes* market, and placed
 ‘ just before Sir *Thomas Nutt's* door. It
 ‘ being quickly known upon what account
 ‘ they were taken, they had many specta-
 ‘ tors, but few chapmen; probably they
 ‘ had lain in their hands, but that there
 ‘ being at Sir *Thomas Nutt's*, an own bro-
 ‘ ther of his, he becomes the purchaser,
 ‘ buyeth the seven cows, for what is not cer-
 ‘ tainly

' tainly known, for 14 *l.* 5 *s.* say they
 ' that report the highest, though they
 ' were not ill worth 27 *l.* Having no
 ' ground of his own, he first sends them,
 ' and then selleth them to one that is
 ' tenant to Sir *Thomas*.

' IT was stranged by some, why Sir
 ' *Thomas* should, beyond others, bestir
 ' himself to procure them distrained. But
 ' now that riddle may be easily read ;
 ' his brother is to have the first purchase
 ' of them, and his tenant the second.
 ' The same day, sale was cry'd in the
 ' market, to be held at the *Star* in *Lewes*,
 ' the *Monday*, *Tuesday* and *Wednesday* fol-
 ' lowing, for the rest of the goods, where
 ' they sold cheap, I cannot say good pen-
 ' nyworths.

' THE same day with that at *Lewes*,
 ' there was a meeting at the town of
 ' *Brightelmstone*, some six miles off. To
 ' take away all occasion of offence, they
 ' did lessen their number, and alter their
 ' place of meeting ; but were beset by
 ' Captain *Tetterfol*, Constable of the place,
 ' and his gang : Finding the door shut,
 ' that they could not enter, they surroun-
 ' ded the house, that none of the meeters
 ' might come out. Thus they kept them
 ' prisoners till they sent to *Lewes*, to Sir
 ' *Thomas Nutt* for a warrant to break open
 ' the door. When the warrant came, en-
 ' trance was given ; they find no minister,
 ' nor

nor were the people, when they came in, about any religious exercise. They pretended they had heard the sound of a voice, which they please to say is preaching. These men going to Sir *Thomas Nutt*, and making some deposition upon oath, a warrant is issued out to bring the meeters before him and some other Justices.

When they came, the business was to pump something by way of confession out of them; in which, if they would be ingenuous, a promise is made that they should set their own fines; but these, keeping their own counsel, the Justices not being able to convict them by the parties confession, are forced to do it, by that notorious evidence before specified. They fine *William Beard*, master of the house, where the meeting was, 20 *l.* *Tetterfol* breaks open locks to come at malt: Being gotten to the heap, filleth, without all measure, fixty of five bushel sacks, which he hath sold to one of his gang for 12 *s.* per quarter. One that went out of the house where the meeting was, just as the disturbers were coming to it, is notwithstanding convicted.

At *Chillington*, three miles from *Lewes*, one *Nicholas Martin* was upon slight evidence convicted by Sir *Thomas Nutt*, for having a meeting at his house, is notwithstanding convicted.

*Appeals,
was cast,
and fin'd
60 l*

‘ fined 20 l. for which they drain his
‘ land, and took from him six cows, two
‘ young bullocks and a horse, being all
‘ the stock he had. These were return-
‘ ed to him again upon his entring an
‘ appeal ; but being strangely cast at the
‘ Sessions, he was by the court fined 60 l.
‘ which was at last remitted to 23 l.
‘ For non-payment whereof, he was com-
‘ mitted to the Jaylor’s hands ; nor could
‘ he be released, though one *Salisbury*,
‘ Vicar of the place, his grand persecu-
‘ tor, being convinced he had dealt inju-
‘ riously with him, offered to give bond
‘ to pay the whole fine within a quar-
‘ ter of a year.’

SUCH was the great rage and malice,
with which in those days, the persecu-
tions were carried on against the *Non-*
conformists, by the *Justices* and *Clergy*
throughout the kingdom, that more mer-
cy was extended to *criminals*, than to
those whom they could charge with no
crimes, either against the church or state.

*Manu-
script penes
me.*

IT is observed by one Mr. *Josiah Diston*,
who had been often committed to prison,
and bound over to several *Affizes* and *Se-*
sions, for having private meetings in his
house ; that he found the spirit and tem-
per of the *Judges* and *Justices* in those
times to be such, that when any person
or accusation came before them concern-
ing *Dissenters*, they were zealous in aggra-
vating

vating their crimes ; and many who were usually silent in other cases, were very forward speakers in these : Whereas, in other *criminal matters* they were cool, and very willing to shew all the favour they could.

BUT to pass by such melancholly relations of barbarity, used upon people for no other crime but because they feared God, and could not in conscience conform to the rites and ceremonies, which they would have imposed upon them, of which I have many instances now before me ; I shall produce some testimonies of God's dislike of such proceedings, by his hand of providence stretched out against some of the *chief persecutors and informers* against the *Protestant Dissenters* in *Oxfordshire* ; collected by the aforesaid Mr. *Diston*, and several others, who had a personal knowledge of what I am about to relate.

An account of some persecutors in Oxfordshire.

ONE *Anne Clemens*, wife of *Matthew Clemens*, a baker, a man that had an house and land of his own freehold, in good business, and lived plentifully : This woman was noted, at *Chipping-Norton*, for her rage and malice against the *Dissenters*. She in a violent manner attacked a *Minister* in the pulpit, tore his cloak, and with some others assisting her, forced him from the pulpit, and set up an *episcopal one* in his room ; for which action she gained the

Anne Clemens.

Mr. Ford.

title of Captain *Clemens*. Soon after this, her family sunk in their estate; and though she had several children, not one that lived thereabout was in a condition of living comfortably in the world. One of her daughters went beyond sea; the family grew poor, the land was sold, the house mortgaged for near its worth, the husband died, and she was left so poor, that she was in a little time forced to beg alms of those she had hated and persecuted; and under a grievous judgment, of having an appetite to eat as much as would satisfy two or three people, and so subject to breed vermin, that her daughter-in-law said, that though she had washed and oven'd her cloaths, yet she could not keep her clean. In this deplorable condition she lived some years, and then died miserably as to this world, and it is to be feared, says the Relator, as to the life to come.

R. Allein. MR. *Richard Allein* was another who appeared very soon in disquieting his religious neighbours; and though he had formerly been a member of a dissenting congregation, yet all the time of the Dissenters troubles, till near his death, he was a very active *informer* against them, and took all opportunities of afflicting them, till some very afflicting providences befel himself, and such as were thought to be the means of shortning his life. His
eldest

eldest *Son* was killed at *London*; and near the same time, his second *Son* was accused and arraigned at *Oxford* Assizes, for robbing on the highway, and it was by great friends and fees, that he escaped with his life, but was never after heard of in these parts. The father never enjoyed himself after this, nor acted any more against the *Dissenters*; but shortly after died a sudden death.

MR. *Thomas Lodge*, having in this county T. Lodge. a free estate of about fifty pounds *per Ann.* and twenty pounds a year left him by his father, and besides was an officer in the county troops. This man set himself violently to persecute the *Dissenters*, and resolved to suppress them intirely; but before he could accomplish his design, and ruin them in their persons and estates, he sunk very much in his own estate, sold part of it, and died greatly in debt: The remainder of his estate being much incumbred, was soon after sold by his son, whose children are now so poor, that they are common beggars.

Robert Werg, when he was Constable, Robert Werg. was a very forward and busy man, at informing against *Dissenters*, watching to discover their meetings, and in making distress on their goods: He lived not long after he came out of office. In his sickness he was heard to say, that he caught

his death by watching one cold night, to take the Dissenters at their meeting.

Thomas Samuel,
Thomas Pannier,
Thomas Houlton,
William Knowlis,
Richard Adcock.

Thomas Samuel, Thomas Pannier, Thomas Houlton, William Knowlis and Richard Adcock, were all persons whom those in power employ'd to watch the Dissenters meetings, and inform against them, and received pensions for what they did in this wicked service: But it was observed, that they did not prosper in their worldly affairs afterwards, and that shortly after every one of them died.

Lord Falkland,
Sir Tho. Penny-
stone,
Sir Wm. Moreton,
Sir Tho. Roe.

THE Lord *Falkland* an *Irish* Peer, Lord Lieutenant of the County, Sir *Thomas Pennystone*, deputy Lieutenant, Sir *William Moreton*, and Sir *Thomas Roe*, were Justices of the Peace, and bitter persecutors of the Dissenters, employing their whole power to ruin them; and it is observed concerning them, that by some blast of Providence they came to be utterly ruin'd themselves, their estates sold, and most of their families became extinct, and that some of them were cut off by death, before they could accomplish their threatnings of the further mischief they designed.

Sir Littleton Obaldiston.

Sir *Littleton Obaldiston*, another Justice of the peace, has been sometimes heard to rail against Dissenters, it being accounted a mark of loyalty, to reproach and villify them. He did also join with other Justices in committing Dissenters to prison; but,

but, says the Relator, there is ground to hope, that he saw his evil afterwards; because he was instrumental in releasing several, and carried himself friendly towards them the residue of his life. He is dead; and his estate is continued to his posterity.

— *Howard*, Esq; being a Justice of Howard. the peace, and an Officer in the county troops, at the beginning of the Dissenters troubles, was, like *Saul*, a zealous persecutor of them; he broke up a meeting, and committed several to prison, out of zeal, as he then said, for the church: But shortly after, being apprehensive that there was a design to bring in Popery, he released those whom he had committed to prison, and never acted against Dissenters any more; but, on the contrary, expressed great friendship towards them, and was not backward to own to them, and others, that he was mistaken in the persons and their principles; and for his moderation to them, was by others reproached, and accounted as one of them, tho' still a constant adherer to the established worship. This gentleman, says the Relator, is the only person in this part of the county, that was a disturber of the Dissenters that is now living, this 30th of Dec. 1707. being now an old man, full of days, wealth and honour.

Anno.

1671.

The King
designs to
govern ab-
solutely.

THE large supplies of money which the parliament had given to support his Majesty's pleasures, kept up a pretty good agreement between him and them: But now the King having assurance of large remittances from *France*, he resolved to govern by the *prerogative*, and stand upon his own legs. And,

Hist. Engl.
vol. 2.
p. 655.

HAVING taken up a resolution to become absolute, he easily saw, says *Rapin*,
 ' that the execution of it required an art-
 ' ful and cautious conduct, and such se-
 ' cret and imperceptible methods, as would
 ' not too plainly discover his intentions.
 ' For he could not suppose, that because
 ' he desired to be absolute, the people of
 ' *England* would immediately give up
 ' their liberties and privileges: It was
 ' therefore necessary to lead them to it
 ' insensibly and by degrees; and to that
 ' end he wanted a secret council com-
 ' posed of few persons, in whom he might
 ' entirely confide, and whose interest it
 ' was to accomplish this design. The
 ' ordinary council consisting of twenty
 ' one persons, was not proper to con-
 ' duct this affair. For, besides that some
 ' Counsellors had a right to their places,
 ' as for instance, the Archbishop of *Can-*
 ' *terbury*, it was very difficult to ingage
 ' so many persons of the first rank in such
 ' a plot. To effect therefore this under-
 ' taking

‘ taking with the more caution, the King
 ‘ established a cabinet council of five per- *Forms the*
 ‘ sons only; namely, *Cabal.*

‘ *Clifford,*
 ‘ *Arlington,*
 ‘ *Buckingham,*
 ‘ *Ashley,*
 ‘ *Lauderdale.*

‘ As the initial letters of these five
 ‘ names compose the word C A B A L;
 ‘ this secret council was from thence
 ‘ called the *Cabal.*

‘ If to these five members of the Ca- *ib. p. 656.*
 ‘ bal, says *Rapin*, are joined, as in rea-
 ‘ son they ought, the King and the Duke
 ‘ of *York*, it will be found, that all the
 ‘ seven were for an absolute and arbitrary
 ‘ government; and that, with regard to
 ‘ religion, four were Papists, namely, the
 ‘ King, the Duke, *Arlington* and *Clif-*
 ‘ *ford*; and three without any religion,
 ‘ or at least they considered it only as an
 ‘ engine of state. These were *Bucking-*
 ‘ *ham*, *Ashley*, and *Lauderdale.*

‘ It would be difficult to know the *Who re-*
 ‘ transactions of the *Cabal*, if *Father Orleans*, *solve upon*
 ‘ instructed by King *James II.* had not *a war*
 ‘ told us, that a war with *Holland* was *with Hol-*
 ‘ there resolved, in order to furnish the *land.*
 ‘ King with a pretence to keep on foot
 ‘ both land and sea-forces. For it is ma-
 ‘ nifest,

' nifest, that such a design could be ac-
 ' complished, but by force or fear. The
 ' pretence for this war was to be taken
 ' from the dispute about the flag, which
 ' might easily be renewed; and from
 ' the general complaints of the *English*
 ' merchants concerning their commerce,
 ' of which so great use had been made
 ' for undertaking the former war: *But,*
 ' adds Father Orleans, *the true reason of*
 ' *making this war upon Holland, was the*
 ' *secret correspondence between the repub-*
 ' *licans of England and the Dutch; who*
 ' *were incessantly exciting them to rebel-*
 ' *lion, and to shake off the yoke of monarchy,*
 ' *being ever ready to support those that should*
 ' *attack it.* This seems, says Rapin, to
 ' contradict what the same author ad-
 ' vances a few lines before; namely, that
 ' the true ground of this war was to fur-
 ' nish the King with a pretence for rais-
 ' ing an army. There is, however, no
 ' contradiction, for it must be considered,
 ' that the design of the King and the
 ' Cabal concerned two points, which went
 ' hand in hand, and formed properly but
 ' one design; namely, to introduce an ar-
 ' bitrary government, and to extirpate the
 ' protestant religion. As it could not be
 ' expected, that the *English* would tamely
 ' give up their religion and liberty with-
 ' out any resistance, it was natural to be-
 ' gin with depriving them of the only as-
 ' sistance

‘ sistance they could hope for, by attacking the *Dutch*, and disabling them to succour *England*. Those therefore who are called by Father *Orleans* the Republicans of *England*, were the persons, who it was supposed, would oppose the King’s designs, as well Episcopalians as Presbyterians, and the Republicans properly so called. It is therefore clear, that the true reason of making war upon the *States*, was as much to put it out of their power to assist the *English*, as to have a pretence for raising forces, and that this was but one and the same reason.’

To shew, that one of the branches of the project formed by the Cabal, was to make the King absolute, and that under that branch was comprized the extirpation of the Protestant, or at least the introduction of the Popish Religion; *Rapin* quotes an extract from the history of Father *Orleans*, who after speaking of what had passed concerning the *Papists* and other *Nonconformists*, adds, ‘ The King who was no good christian in his actions, tho’ a Catholick in his heart, did all that could be expected from his indolent temper, to preserve the common liberty, that the Catholicks might partake of it. But the church of *England* prevailed, and Chancellor *Hide* was so warm upon this occasion, that the King was obliged

*And an
indulgence
to Dissen-
ters.*

ib. p. 662.

‘ liged to yield rather to his importuni-
‘ ties than his reasons. It was therefore
‘ the re-establishment of this liberty
‘ of conscience, that the Lord *Ashley*
‘ believed necessary to the execution
‘ of the projected design: He commu-
‘ nicated his thoughts to his colleagues
‘ of the Cabal, who were of the same
‘ opinion, not only on account of the
‘ reason he alleged, which was, the gain-
‘ ing of the *Nonconformists*, who were
‘ justly feared; but also upon another,
‘ which he readily approved, namely, the
‘ favouring of the *Catholicks*, whom most
‘ of them loved, and the rest esteemed.
‘ *Arlington* and *Clifford* were secretly
‘ *Catholicks*, and both died in the com-
‘ munion of the Church. *Buckingham*
‘ had no occasion to be converted, could
‘ he only have prevailed with himself as to
‘ libertinism. *Ashley* was not averse to the
‘ catholick religion, till interest and ma-
‘ lice threw him into the contrary party.
‘ It will easily be conceived, that the
‘ King readily consented to it, since he
‘ was a *Catholick*, and continued so to
‘ his death, though policy caused him to
‘ pretend the contrary. As for the Duke
‘ of *York*, he supported the design with
‘ all his power. All the difficulty lay in
‘ the extent of this liberty; and the two
‘ Kings, of *France* and *England*, acting
‘ in concert, debated this affair in the ne-
‘ gotiation

‘gotiation of their treaty. Several proposals were made, some more, some less advantageous to the Catholics. *France* was for the most moderate, safest, and most seasonable methods. At last it was agreed, that *Charles* should grant liberty of conscience to all his subjects in general.

‘It appears from hence, says *Rapin*, *Anno*
‘that religion was concerned in the pro- 1672:
‘jects of the Cabal. But probably some

‘were for having the progress of the
‘popish religion subservient to render the
‘King absolute; and others were for
‘rendering the King absolute, to favour
‘the progress of Popery: Wherefore,
‘these two articles were never separated,
‘nor indeed could be, since they entirely
‘depended on each other. The King plainly
‘shewed it, when he published his declaration
‘for liberty of conscience; since
‘he could not grant this liberty, without
‘assuming a power to abrogate acts of
‘parliament, or at least suspend the execution
‘thereof so long as he pleased.

‘This declaration, dated the 15th of
‘*March*, 1672. consisted of various articles,
‘of which *Rapin* has given the substance.

‘I. His Majesty publishes it, in virtue
‘of his supreme power in ecclesiastical
‘matters, which is a right inherent in his
‘person,

*A declaration for
liberty of
conscience.*

‘ person, and declared to be so by several
 ‘ acts of parliament.

‘ 2. HE declares his express resolution
 ‘ to be, that the church of *England* be
 ‘ preserved and remain intire in her doc-
 ‘ trine, discipline and government, as
 ‘ now it stands established by law.

‘ 3. THAT no person shall be capable
 ‘ of holding any ecclesiastical benefice or
 ‘ preferment of any kind, who is not ex-
 ‘ actly conformable.

‘ 4. THAT the execution of all penal
 ‘ laws in matters ecclesiastical, against
 ‘ whatsoever sorts of Nonconformists or
 ‘ recusants, be immediately suspended.

‘ 5. HE declares, that he will from
 ‘ time to time allow a sufficient number
 ‘ of places, as shall be desired, in all parts
 ‘ of his kingdom, for the use of such as
 ‘ do not conform to the church of *Eng-
 ‘ land*, to meet and assemble in, in order
 ‘ to their publick worship and devotion.

‘ 6. THAT none of his subjects do pre-
 ‘ sume to meet in any place, until such
 ‘ place be allowed, and the teacher of that
 ‘ congregation be approved by him.

‘ 7. HE declares, that this indulgence,
 ‘ as to the allowance of publick places of
 ‘ worship, and approbation of teachers,
 ‘ shall extend to all sorts of Nonconfor-
 ‘ mists and recusants, except the recusants
 ‘ of the *Roman* Catholick religion, to
 ‘ whom he will no ways allow publick
 ‘ places

‘ places of worship, but only indulge
 ‘ them their share in the common exemp-
 ‘ tion from the executing the penal laws,
 ‘ and the exercise of their worship in their
 ‘ private houses only.’

THIS indulgence did not please the *Presbyterians* in general; for many of them had far rather have had any tolerable state of unity with the publick ministry, than such a *toleration*. However, they went in a body, and were introduced by the Lord *Arlington*; and Dr. *Manton*, in their name, thanked the King for his declaration. Most of them, says Dr. *Bur-* Vol. 2. p.
308.
net, had yearly pensions of fifty pounds; and the chief of them of one hundred pounds.

THIS deep laid design, under the plausible pretence of *toleration*, to introduce *popery*, plainly appeared: For the Protestant Dissenters, till they could get meeting-houses built, were more terribly restrained from meeting together than before; and it is not to be imagined they would be very forward to erect meeting-houses, when they had by this *indulgence* no security to enjoy them, even for a week; when the *Papists* were immediately put into possession of a securer and fuller liberty, being permitted in their houses, any where under their own government, without limitation or restriction to any number of places or persons, or any necessity of getting approbation.

bation. Thus, tho' this *indulgence* was said to be for avoiding the danger of conventicles in private ; yet the *Papists* were allow'd such conventicles, in as many houses as they pleased.

Vol. 2. p.
662.

MR. *Tindal* observes, in his notes on *Rapin*, from *Kennet's History*, ' That the Lord *Clifford* told a Person of Quality in private discourse, that the King, if he would be firm to himself, might settle what religion he pleased, and carry the government to what height he would ; for if men were assured, in the liberty of their consciences, and undisturbed in their properties, able and upright Judges made in *Westminster-Hall* ; and if, on the other hand, the fort of *Tilbury* was finished to bridle the City, the fort of *Plymouth* to secure the *West*, and arms for twenty thousand men in each of these, and in *Hull* for the northern parts, with some addition (which might be easily and undiscernedly made to the forces on foot) there were none who would have either will, opportunity or power to resist.'

The Commons address the King against his declaration.

Vol. 2. p.
667.

THE House of Commons, alarmed with the proceedings of the King and his Cabal, presented an address to him against his declaration for liberty of conscience. In which they told him, says *Rapin*, ' That having taken into consideration his declaration for *indulgence* to *Dissenters*, they found

' found themselves bound in duty to in-
 ' form his Majesty, *That penal laws in*
 ' *matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended*
 ' *but by act of parliament.* They therefore
 ' most humbly besought his Majesty to
 ' give such directions, *that no apprehensions*
 ' *or jealousies might remain in the hearts*
 ' *of his faithful subjects.* To this address,
 ' says he, the King sent the following *The King's*
 ' answer: That he is very much troubled, *answer.*
 ' that the declaration which he put out for
 ' ends so necessary to the quiet of this king-
 ' dom, especially in that conjuncture,
 ' should prove the cause of disquiet, and
 ' give occasion to the questioning of his
 ' power in ecclesiasticks, which he finds
 ' not done in the reigns of any of his an-
 ' cestors. That he never had thoughts
 ' of using it otherwise than as it had been
 ' intrusted in him to the peace and esta-
 ' blishment of the church of *England*, and
 ' the ease of all his subjects in general.
 ' Neither doth he pretend to suspend any
 ' laws wherein the properties, rights or
 ' liberties of any of his subjects are con-
 ' cerned; nor to alter any thing in the
 ' established doctrine or discipline of the
 ' church of *England*. But his only de-
 ' sign in this was, to take off the penal-
 ' ties inflicted by statutes upon the Dis-
 ' senters, and which he believed, when
 ' well considered of, they themselves would
 ' not wish executed according to the ri-

'gour of the law. Neither hath he done
 'this with any thought of avoiding, or
 'precluding the advice of his parliament;
 'and if any bill shall be offered to him,
 'which shall appear more proper to at-
 'tain the aforesaid ends, and secure the
 'peace of the church and kingdom, when
 'tendered in due manner to him, *He will*
 'shew how readily he will concur in all
 'ways that shall appear for the good of the
 'kingdom.'

THE King and the Cabal found, that
 this declaration was far from engaging the
 Dissenters on their side. For tho' liberty
 of conscience was so greatly desirable, they
 did not desire it to the ruin of the church
 and kingdom. Alderman Love, a city
 member, and an eminent Dissenter, spoke
 in the house with the greatest warmth
 against the declaration; and said, *he had*
much rather still go without their desired
liberty, than have it in a way that would
prove so detrimental to the Nation.*

THE Commons seeing the Dissenters
 so ready to sacrifice their own, to the in-
 terest of religion and the kingdom, order'd
 a bill to be brought in for their ease, by
 which all the penalties against them in the
 act of *uniformity* were removed, and no-
 thing required but the taking the oaths of
supremacy and allegiance. This bill in a

* Kennet, p. 318.

few days was compleated; but the Lords having made some amendments, the King prorogued the parliament before these amendments could be agreed to by the Commons.

THE difficulties into which the King by his *Cabal* had involved himself were so great, that to prevent a rupture between him and his parliament, after some hesitation, at the solicitation of his Ladies, called for the declaration, and with his own hands broke the seal; and in his speech to his parliament, tells them *, ‘ If there be any scruple yet remaining with you, touching the suspension of the penal laws, I here faithfully promise you, that what hath been done in that particular, shall not for the future be drawn into example and consequence; and as I daily expect from you a bill for my supply, so I assure you, I shall as willingly receive and pass any other you shall offer me, that may tend to the giving you satisfaction in all your just grievances.’

*He calls
in his de-
claration.*

THE King having not courage and resolution enough to withstand the complaints of the parliament, gave a check to the hopes of the *Cabal*, which were founded on the King’s steadiness, and threw them into a great consternation;

*The Cabal
in confu-
sion.*

* Rapin, Vol. 2. p. 669.

for they looked upon themselves in danger of being abandoned by the King, and left to the resentment of the parliament : some of them therefore deserted the King, and hereby the grand designs of this *Cabal* were frustrated.

THE bill in favour of the Protestant Dissenters met with another disappointment; for the King adjourned the parliament before the Lords had given their assent to it; which shews, his Majesty had no concern for the interest of the Dissenters; for if he had, he might have deferred the adjournment a few days, till the bill passed in their favour had been ready, or at least might have pressed the two houses to have finished it. Thus the poor Dissenters, being deprived of the shelter of his Majesty's declaration, were left by the parliament to the storm of the severe laws which were in force against them, and by some Justices were rigorously put in execution; but the greater part were then more moderate; and so the Dissenters had in many places a liberty of performing their worship in their own way. But this hardly lasted three years, and the persecution of them revived, and continued to the end of this reign; and, says Dr. *Welwood* *, ' was one continued in-

* Memoirs, p. 119.

‘ vasion upon the rights of the people,
‘ and the nation seemed unwilling now
‘ to contend for them any more.’

OUR worthy Patriots now began to have a scent of a plot to bring in popery, and stood upon their watch. Something they discerned to be in hand, and that the project was deeply laid, but on what persons to charge it they knew not, and were wholly in the dark, as to the methods and particulars of it, till in the year 1678. Dr. *Oates* entered upon that never-to-be-forgotten service to his country, at once saving the life of his sovereign, the government of the nation, and the protestant religion, from a total extirpation, and all good protestants from a massacre.

THIS conspiracy, or as it is more generally called the *Papish plot*, gave occasion to many Politicians to exercise their talents, some in supporting the reality, others in exposing the falsity of it. A full account of the conspiracy, and of the reasons and proofs alledged in maintenance of the reality or falshood, you may see in *Rapin*; which is both foreign to my purpose, and too large to be inserted here.

IT was about this time, that the controversy among the *Baptists* about *laying on of hands*, called by the Clergy *consecration*, created not a little trouble to those who were for the practice of that apostolical

The laying on of hands controversy among the Baptists.

lical ordinance, occasioned by the publication of a treatise, entitled, *A Search after Schism*, by a nameless company, in opposition to it.

THIS was answered by Dr. *John Griffith*, in a piece, entitled, *The Searchers after Schism searched*; and drew from Mr. *Grantham*, his *Sigh for Peace, or, the Cause of Division discovered*. The publication of this book occasioned a meeting between Mr. *Grantham* and Mr. *Ives*, where a dispute upon that head was had with much temperance and good humour. Mr. *Ives* finding himself much gruelled, broke up the meeting, as I am informed, very peaceably and friendly.

ABOUT three years after Mr. *Danvers* wrote a treatise against *laying on of hands*, which was answered by Mr. *Benjamin Keach*; and also by Mr. *Grantham*, who annexed to his answer, *A treatise of the successors of the Apostles*. In which he pleaded for the *Jus Divinum* of the *Messenger's* office; which is continued among some of the *Baptists* to the present day.

Anno
1673.

THAT the persons and principles of of those termed *Anabaptists* might be held in disgrace, and rendered odious to the people: In the year 1673, was published a Pamphlet, entitled, *Mr. Baxter baptized in Blood*, which, says * Mr. *Hooke*,

* *Apology*, p. 6-7.

the author of the *Apology for the baptized churches*, ‘ gave an account of a
 ‘ barbarous murder, committed by four
 ‘ *Anabaptists*, at *Boston* in *New-England*,
 ‘ upon the body of a godly Minister,
 ‘ called Mr. *Josiah Baxter*, for no other
 ‘ reason, but because he had worsted A wicked
 ‘ them in disputation; which was set slander a-
 ‘ forth, with all the circumstances and gainst the
 ‘ formalities of names, speeches, actions, Baptists
 ‘ time and place, to make it look the confuted.
 ‘ more authentick; orderly and most
 ‘ pathetically describing the most execra-
 ‘ ble murder, that ever was known, viz.
 ‘ of first stripping, and cruelly whip-
 ‘ ping, then unbowelling, and fleeing a-
 ‘ live, a reverend godly Minister in his
 ‘ own house, in the midst of the howl-
 ‘ ing groans and schreechings of his dear
 ‘ relations, lying bound before him. And
 ‘ the better to create belief, this sad story
 ‘ is pretended to be published by the
 ‘ mournful brother of the said murdered
 ‘ Minister, named *Benjamin Baxter*, liv-
 ‘ ing in *Fenchurch-street*, *London*. More-
 ‘ over, the *Authors* had dealt so cunning-
 ‘ ly, that they had prevailed with Dr.
 ‘ *Samuel Parker* to license it.’

It hath been always the malicious prac-
 tice of that grand slanderer *Satan* and his
Instruments, since the first times of christi-
 anity, when they could not resist the power
 of religion, to defame the persons and as-

semblies of all Christians, with foul and hateful crimes laid to their charge; as appears by the apologies of *Justine Martyr*, *Tertullian*, and others. But the *Authors* of this slander have hatched a *forgery* beyond all story; not only under the specious pretence of piety, intitling God himself, his holy Word, and all that is sacred therein, but with the formalities of names, speeches, actions, time and place, orderly and most pathetically describing the most execrable murder that ever was known, exceeding the cruelties of the most savage Heathens.

I THINK it may be truly said, that the bounds of christian profession are not wide enough to afford us an example parallel to the prodigious malice of these lying *defamers*; pretending this horrid fact as done by *Anabaptists*, that they might the better expose the whole profession of them in all parts, tho' never so innocent, to the hatred and rage of the people in all places against them.

FOR it concludes in these words, *viz.*

‘ I HAVE penn’d and published this
 ‘ narrative, *in perpetuam rei memoriam*;
 ‘ that the world may see the spirit and
 ‘ temper of these men, and that it may
 ‘ stand as an eternal memorial of their
 ‘ cruelty and hatred to all Orthodox Mi-
 ‘ nisters.’

Now

NOW this was enough to persuade any body, that the report was true, especially being published with allowance ; and might make men, not only ashamed to be *Anabaptists*, but to abhor the name and *Seet* for ever. Nevertheless, by divine providence, this was soon discovered to be all false and forged, not a tittle of truth in it ; for a ship coming from *Boston* in *New-England*, about twenty days after this murder was said to be committed, two of the men, the *Master* of the vessel, and a *Merchant* that was with him, attested upon oath, before the Lord Mayor of *London*, that they never knew such a man as Mr. *Josiah Baxter* ; that they had heard of no such report, nor knew any occasion of such a thing ; but did believe it was a very great falsehood.

THE *Officers* of the two wards of *Aldgate* and *Langburn*, in which *Fenchurch-street* is situate, gave a certificate under their hands, that within their memories, no such man as *Benjamin Baxter*, the pretended brother that published the story, had lived in *Fenchurch-street*. The King's Privy Council examined the case, and detected the *forgery*, and accordingly ordered the publishing the same in the *Gazette* ; and Dr. *Parker*, that had been too credulous, and hasty in licensing this tragical story, confessed his error,

error, and gave a testimonial under his hand, acknowledging the same.

The affidavit of the two *New-England* men.

By two
Men's af-
fidavit.

‘ *Rich. Martin*, master of the good ship,
‘ the *Blossom* of *Boston*, of *New-England*,
‘ Merchant, and *Henry Mountfort* of *Bos-*
‘ *ton*, aforesaid, Merchant, make oath,
‘ that on the 26th day of *February* last
‘ past, they these deponents set sail from
‘ *Boston* aforesaid, for the port of *London* ;
‘ and these deponents also say, and affirm,
‘ that they, the said deponents, for di-
‘ vers years last past, have had their con-
‘ stant residence and abode in or near *Bos-*
‘ *ton* aforesaid ; but these deponents, and
‘ either of them, for himself saith, that
‘ they never heard of, or knew any Mi-
‘ nister, called or known by the name of
‘ *Josiah Baxter* ; nor was there to these
‘ deponents knowledge or belief, any dis-
‘ pute or controversy whatsoever, between
‘ the said *Baxter* and the *Anabaptists* in
‘ *New-England*, of or concerning any
‘ points of religion ; neither was there
‘ any report at *Boston* aforesaid, or any
‘ other place in *New-England*, of or con-
‘ cerning any murder, pretended to have
‘ been committed upon the said *Baxter*,
‘ or any other person or persons what-
‘ soever, by any *Anabaptists* in *New-Eng-*
‘ *land*. And these deponents do verily
‘ believe

‘ believe that the late book, intitled, Mr.
 ‘ *Baxter baptized in blood*, is an absolute
 ‘ pamphlet, and a very great falshood;
 ‘ for that these deponents were residing
 ‘ at *Boston* aforesaid, two and twenty days
 ‘ after the said murder, in the said pamph-
 ‘ let mention’d, is pretended to have been
 ‘ committed.’

May 21, 1673. Ambo
 jurat. fuer. coram me,
 Rob. Hanson, Mayor.

Richard Martin.
Henry Mountfort.

HEREUPON the Lord-Mayor was
 pleased by his officers, not only to inter-
 dict the vending the said scandalous
 pamphlet, but to seize it in the hands of
 the hawkers and mercuries that sold the
 same; and to suppress a second impres-
 sion thereof in the press; committing al-
 so to *prison* several of the publishers.

THE certificate of the officers of the Ward.

*By the of-
 ficers of
 the parish.*

‘ WHEREAS we have lately seen a
 ‘ pamphlet, entitled, Mr. *Baxter bap-*
 ‘ *tized in blood*, said to be published by
 ‘ his mournful brother, *Benjamin Baxter*,
 ‘ living in *Fenchurch-street, London*: We
 ‘ the Church-wardens, Overseers and
 ‘ Beadles, do certify, that there is no
 ‘ such man, doth or hath, within our
 ‘ memory, lived in the two wards of
 ‘ *Aldgate* and *Langbourne*, in which *Fen-*
 ‘ *church-street* is situate. To the truth of
 ‘ which

‘ which attestation, we whose names are
 ‘ under written, have set our hands, this
 ‘ 27th day of May, 1673.’

Thomas Baylie,
William Wickins,
Gordard Fletch,
Thomas Fisher, } Church-wardens.

Samuel Loveday,
Ralph Almond, } Overseers.

Will. Tiplington,
Thomas Smith, } Beadles.

AN address being made to the Council-board, they upon examination of the business, find it false and fictitious, and accordingly ordered the publishing the same in the Gazette, viz.

The order of Council.

*By the order of
 Council.*

‘ **W**HEREAS there is a pamph-
 ‘ let lately published, entitled,
 ‘ *Mr. Baxter baptized in blood*, contain-
 ‘ ing a horrible murder, committed by
 ‘ four *Anabaptists*, upon the person of
 ‘ *Mr. Josiah Baxter*, near *Boston* in *New-*
 ‘ *England*: The whole matter having
 ‘ been enquired into, and examined at
 ‘ the Council-board, is found altogether
 ‘ false and fictitious.

‘ *Edw. Walker.*’

THE

THE licenser, Dr. *Samuel Parker*, being also made acquainted with the whole matter, confesseth his mistake and too sudden credulity in the licensing so strange a pamphlet, as appears by the testimonial under his hand, *viz.*

Dr. *Parker's* Testimonial.

‘ WHEREAS there was a certain *By Dr.*
‘ pamphlet, lately published un- *Parker.*
‘ der the title of, Mr. *Baxter baptized in*
‘ *blood*, containing a Narrative, of a
‘ murder committed on the person of one
‘ *Josiah Baxter*, a Minister, near *Boston*
‘ in *New-England*; which Narrative was
‘ allowed of, licensed, and publickly ex-
‘ posed to sale: These are to certify,
‘ that the allowance and license thereof,
‘ was obtained at the desire and suggestion
‘ of one *Laurence Savil*: Who in
‘ order to procure the same, did really
‘ produce to the licenser, letters and tes-
‘ timonials, under the hands, as he pre-
‘ tended, of several persons in *New-Eng-*
‘ *land*, containing the particular circum-
‘ stances of the said relation, and assert-
‘ ing the truth of the same, as in the
‘ printed copy is expressed. All which,
‘ upon further enquiry and examination,
‘ the said licenser hath since evidently
‘ found

‘ found to be fictitious and untrue, con-
 ‘ trived and invented here in *England*,
 ‘ without any warrant or attestation from
 ‘ beyond the seas. And so much he hath
 ‘ thought fit to publish, to the end that
 ‘ no person may be abused or imposed
 ‘ upon by a report, which, as he is now
 ‘ sufficiently convinced, is both false and
 ‘ groundless.

Read in Council, 30th
 of May, 1673.

Samuel Parker.

*The sup-
 posed pub-
 lisher of
 this noto-
 rious for-
 gery was
 one Sey-
 mer, a
 pretended
 Doctor of
 Physick,
 who upon
 diligent
 search
 was dis-
 covered
 and met
 with.*

* Seymer.

*By a let-
 ter from
 Laurence
 Savil.*

Laurence Savil, who obtained the li-
 censing of this infamous pamphlet, thro’
 guilt hiding his head, could not be met
 with; but wrote a letter to one of them
 who were in search after him, and con-
 fesseth himself drawn in and cheated, by
 this imaginary and suppositious *Ben-
 jamin Baxter*. The letter was thus:

‘ *S I R,*

‘ **T**HE Doctor * has urged and pres-
 ‘ fed me by several letters, to give
 ‘ the world a full and satisfactory ac-
 ‘ count of this business, of Mr. *Baxter’s*
 ‘ pamphlet. Mr. *Benjamin Baxter*, the
 ‘ Author of the late pamphlet, about nine
 ‘ weeks since, insinuated into my acquaint-
 ‘ tance: first in *Gray’s-inn-walks*, and
 ‘ afterwards at a Coffee-house in *Holbourn*.
 ‘ I met him often in the walks, from
 ‘ thence

‘ thence we went to the Coffee-houses:
‘ I was well-pleased with his company,
‘ because he seemed an ingenious person,
‘ a good scholar, and an *orthodox member*
‘ *of the Church of England*. He used
‘ always to dispute against the *Anabap-*
‘ *tists*; and in Coffee-houses, to be so
‘ fierce in his invectives against that *party*,
‘ that sometimes he became ridiculous
‘ to the company. He would often much
‘ comment on the increase of that party.
‘ Afterwards he told me, he was compo-
‘ sing a general *History* of the first ori-
‘ ginal and progress of the *Anabaptists*,
‘ with a full confutation of their tenets,
‘ which he was confident would be a
‘ work very acceptable to the sober part
‘ of the nation:

‘ THEN he told me, he had a parti-
‘ cular kindness for me, and that I should
‘ have the publishing of it; by which he
‘ was sure I might gain no less than
‘ 100 *l*. I returned him thanks for his
‘ kindness, and told him, I was not ac-
‘ quainted in things of that nature; but
‘ that it was more fit for some Booksel-
‘ ler to deal in, and that it would re-
‘ quire a disbursement of a considerable
‘ sum of money, which I was loath to
‘ venture. He instantly replied, that tho’
‘ I was ignorant in the business of print-
‘ ing, yet he understood it well, and had
‘ printed several things, but now his bu-
‘ siness

‘ business coming on so fast, he had no time
‘ to follow it himself; but if I pleased,
‘ would wholly employ me in it, and
‘ would disburse the money for printing
‘ and paper, but leave the profit entirely
‘ to me. I must confess these offers
‘ seemed very fair; I could not hand-
‘ somely refuse such kindness. So the
‘ business was concluded, and I every
‘ day expected this elaborate work for the
‘ press. I saw him no more for eight
‘ days together, at which I much won-
‘ dered: but one evening at *Gray’s-inn*, I
‘ met him in a most heavy and discon-
‘ solate condition. After I had prest
‘ him to discourse the causes of his grief,
‘ he told me his sorrows were unexpres-
‘ sible; that his dear brother, that was
‘ formerly gone to *Virginia*, he heard
‘ was killed by the *Anabaptists*. And
‘ then in a great passion, he flung me
‘ three letters, and bad me read them.
‘ He said he was resolved to *immortalize*
‘ *the fact*, and let it stand for ever as an
‘ *eternal memorial against that party*. I
‘ was much troubled at the sad fate of his
‘ brother, and so we parted. Some three
‘ days after we met again; and then he
‘ shewed me the copy of this *pamphlet*,
‘ and told me he came just then from *Lam-*
‘ *beth*, and that Dr. *Parker* had licensed
‘ it; for, said he, I shewed Dr. *Parker*
‘ the three letters, and could not forbear
weeping.

' weeping. Could you yourself have
 ' doubted of the reality of the business,
 ' if you had seen the license to it, his
 ' tears and passionate expressions, and al-
 ' so the three letters? So at last I conde-
 ' scended to do it. The next day I went
 ' to Mr. *Darby*, and desired him to print
 ' it. He took a view of the copy, and
 ' said he was not satisfied of the truth of
 ' it; but he would recommend me to a
 ' *Cavalier* printer, as he expressed it, in
 ' *Ferwin-street*, who would readily per-
 ' form the business. I deferred the pub-
 ' lishing for seven or eight days, expect-
 ' ing to hear some objection against it,
 ' but meeting not with any, I published
 ' it. Mr. *Baxter* constantly met me eve-
 ' ry day, and always urged the expedite,
 ' and sudden publication of the *Narra-*
 ' *tive*. I told him it was coming forth.
 ' He told me, I should command what
 ' money I desired, for this and several
 ' other books he had to come forth. I
 ' replied, that none was wanting yet;
 ' but when it was printed, the printer
 ' was to be paid. Upon *May 15*, I
 ' shewed him a proof sheet; he said, he
 ' was glad the business was so forward,
 ' he would go to the goldsmith to-mor-
 ' row; for, said he, that will soon be enough
 ' for the printer. But in the mean time,
 ' says he, pray let me have four or five
 ' Guineas till to-morrow. I told him I

‘ had not so much about me, but what I
 ‘ had he should have: so I let him have
 ‘ forty shillings, and we parted. The
 ‘ next day I expected him, but he came
 ‘ no more, neither have I ever seen or
 ‘ heard from him since.

‘ FORMERLY, when I asked him con-
 ‘ cerning his lodging, he said he lived in
 ‘ *Fenchurch-street*, but he was seldom at
 ‘ home, and it was impossible for me to
 ‘ meet with him. He said he was an
 ‘ Attorney, and had good employment
 ‘ that way. Thus has this fellow put
 ‘ upon me a business, and now unwor-
 ‘ thily deserted me. And now I begin
 ‘ too late, to perceive him either to be a
 ‘ cheat, or to be grossly cheated, and
 ‘ gulled with false letters; for he several
 ‘ times said, he had not heard of his
 ‘ brother, since his departure out of *Eng-*
 ‘ *land* till now. If I can do any further
 ‘ service in the matter, I shall be very
 ‘ ready and willing; for unless *Baxter*
 ‘ appears in his own defence, and pay
 ‘ me the money I lent him, I shall cer-
 ‘ tainly conclude him a cheat.

‘ As for my friend the *Doctor*, he
 ‘ was altogether unconcerned in the mat-
 ‘ ter, and did only recommend me to a
 ‘ printer, at my request. All this that
 ‘ I have writ, I will avouch to be most
 ‘ true, and if you please to print it, I
 ‘ will

‘ will stand to it, and justify it to be the
 ‘ naked truth of the business.’

Your real friend,

May 20, 1673.

Laurence Savill.

THUS this dark cloud was dissipated, that threatened a perillous storm to the *Anabaptists*, so called, in *Old England*; the sun shone bright in our horizon again; and the *Anabaptists* looked as fair as their neighbours. And altho’ to be falsely accused, directly or indirectly, is a great exercise; yet to be cleared, and timely acquitted, is God’s good providence, and an encouragement patiently to bear such slanderous reports; especially remembering, it was the common case of all christians, even from the beginning, to be defamed and evil spoken of without cause. We may from hence see, how injuriously and cruelly the malice of some men hath vented itself against the *Baptists* and their profession; and how speedily and opportunely the goodness and favour of God, have appeared in their timely and successful vindication.

DR. *Parker* was suspected to be the Author of this *scandalous libel*. And no wonder, since from a *Nonconformist*, when the times changed, he changed too, and

Part II.
p. 100.

became not only a *Conformist*, but wrote bitterly against the *Nonconformists*, calumniating all the foreign *Protestants*, and stirring up of persecution against those at home, creating a misunderstanding betwixt the King and his people; so that the whole design of his books tended to the disturbance of all government. Mr. *Andrew Marvel*, a zealous *Conformist*, in his *Rebearsal transposed*, takes notice of this *Libel*, and says, ‘ It was indeed a piece of *Ecclesiastical History*, which he [Dr. Parker] thought, it seems, very fit, to reconcile to the present juncture of affairs, and recommend to the present genius of the age. And yet from beginning to end, there never was a compleater falsehood invented — and in good earnest, says he, I dare not swear but it was the Author of the *Ecclesiastical Politics* own handy-work. — And, indeed, what reason could there be, what likelihood, that any other man should go so far out of the way with such a book to him, who was the most improper licenser of such things of that nature? Unless he may have therefore been the most proper licenser, because he had given so many testimonies, as books, of his good inclination to such matters; and that (not only in *History*, but even in *Doctrine* too) he did not so nearly consider the *truth*, as the *interest*. And there-

‘ therefore, if, perhaps, he was not the
‘ Author, yet I dare undertake, that
‘ when he came to the licensing of that
‘ *pamphlet*, he felt such an expansion of
‘ heart, such an adlubescence of mind,
‘ and such an exaltation of spirit, that
‘ betwixt joy and love, he could scarce
‘ refrain from kissing it. And this,
‘ says he, no man living can deny,
‘ that either, if he thought there were
‘ any fault in it, he took care to correct
‘ and fit it for the press, with that ad-
‘ vantage, that it came out; or else,
‘ he found it so satisfactory, that it pas-
‘ sed his approbation without any amend-
‘ ment and so transporting, that he forgot
‘ to keep a copy for his own justification.
‘ And truly, had it not chanced that
‘ there was present and immediate proof
‘ upon the place to convict the *forgery*,
‘ as soon as published, it might probably
‘ have had the effect for which it was de-
‘ signed; however, adds Mr. *Marvel*, no
‘ thanks to the licenser, who either was
‘ also the Author, or the more criminal
‘ of the two; by how much the licenser
‘ is always presumed to have the stricter
‘ inspection, the better judgment, and
‘ more honesty; and is therefore intrust-
‘ ed by my Lord Archbishop to give
‘ the stamp of publick authority—— I
‘ know he will, says he, take it un-
‘ kindly, that this should be revived, after;

T 3

‘ he

‘ he will say, he hath given so ample satisfaction since for it, in his *testimional* to the contrary; but he may please to consider, that this was since the late act of general pardon, that it all happened since the writing of the *reproof*; that he hath only given a masterly certificate, as it were, from a justice of peace, instead of making an humble recantation as an offender. Had he but, as they say indeed, he complimented the *Anabaptists* on this occasion, so printed it too, that he esteemed them to be the nearest to truth of all the *Dissenters* from the Church from England, it had been some sign of penitence and integrity, and amounted to some degree of restitution.’

Anno

1674.

The Baptists contend with the Quakers.

IN this year were several books published by the *Baptists* against the *Quakers*, and by the *Quakers* in their own defence. Much more noise was made thereupon than was designed; and the matter having been carried to a great height, requires more notice to be taken thereof than otherwise it would have merited.

G. Whitehead, Dipper's plea, p. 1.

Thomas Hicks, a Baptist preacher, published several pamphlets in succession, under the title of *A Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker*; at which the *Quakers* were much offended, styling them malicious forgeries and fictions, stult with manifest slanders against their persons and principles.

principles. To the first and second Dialogues *William Penn* replied, in a book entitled, *Reasons against railing, and Truth against fiction*. Unto which *Mr. Hicks* made a reply in a third dialogue, intitled, *The Quaker condemned out of his own mouth*. To this *Mr. Penn* replied, in a book, entitled, *The counterfeit Christian detected*; wherein he charges *Mr. Hicks*, with manifold perversions, downright lies and slanders, &c. In this book he appealed to the *Baptists* in and about *London*, for justice against *Thomas Hicks*; threatening in case of a refusal, to pursue him, not only as *Thomas Hicks*, but as the *Baptists* great Champion, peculiar agent or representative: and that it might be the more taken notice of, they employ'd persons to give the book away at the doors of several meeting-houses.

UPON this, the *Baptists* appointed a day; and to prevent the *Quakers* from pleading any surprize, they sent a letter to *Will. Penn*, and another to *George Whitehead*, to be present at the appointed day, for the examination of *Thomas Hicks*; but receiving notice that they were out of the way, they sent to *John Osgoods*, to tell him, that he, or any of their friends, might be present at the time appointed; for the matter, say they, being only matter of fact, and not of dispute, we conceive we may proceed to hear *Thomas*

Hicks's defence. So that the *Quakers* had no need to complain of the *Baptists* taking the advantage of the absence of *William Penn* and *George Whitehead*, who were most concerned, and who should make good the charge, since they having the charge before them, had nothing more to do but to hear the defence of *Thomas Hicks*.

ON the day appointed, neither *William Penn*, *George Whitehead*, nor any other *Quaker* appeared. Several did affirm, says my Author, that *William Penn* was not far from *London*, several days before the day of meeting, after the Letter (of advice) was sent to him: And others reported that he was at his own house, at no great distance from town, the very day preceding. If these things be true, *William Penn* could not be absent for want of information.

Manu-
script
penes me.

ON the twenty-eighth of *August*, the appointed day, Mr. *William Kiffin* opened the assembly, and gave an account of the occasion of it; then read the *Quakers* appeal, and told them, that the business of the day was not to dispute, but to hear, examine and judge, whether *Thomas Hicks* was guilty of charging the *Quakers* falsely.

THEN *Thomas Hicks*, endeavoured to prove that he had not accused the *Quakers* falsely, either in doctrine or practice.

First,

First, as to doctrine; he proved, that they held all the corrupt opinions he charged them with.

I. *That the light in every man is God.*

THIS *William Penn* owns, when he says, where we never charged him with forgery, he, *viz. Thomas Hicks*, hath taken opportunity, and that with confidence of innocence to cry out, [Is that candid to call me forger, when you own the thing? Examine, says he, *Dial.* 3. p. 4, 5, 6, 9. your pages referred to, relate to the point in hand.

HE (meaning *George Whitehead*) owns it, *Ib.* p. 56. the life which is the light of men, is God himself. Again, we assert the true light, with which every man is enlightened, to be in itself the Christ of God. This light is divine, because it is the life of the world, which is God.

Counter-
feit Chri-
stian, p. 9.

*Reasons a-
gainst
railing.*

*Quaker-
ism a nick
name.*

HE quotes other passages, where they call the light divine and uncreated.

THAT light which was before con- science or creature, before sun, moon, and stars, and that by which all things were made that were made. Christ by whom the world was made, which was before any thing was made, or conscience named, the eternal ever-living God, the King of Saints, which he gave to me his Servant, to declare to the inhabitants of the Earth, the Lord whose name is the light

G. Fox's
*Great my-
stery*, p. 18,
23, 185,
331.
White-
head, *Dip-
pers plea*,
p. 13.
G. Fox,
junr. p.
47, 49,
&c.

light. That light is also represented as thus speaking of himself; I the light created all things, I the light gave unto every one of you life and breath, you scorn me, the light in you, &c.

Dial. 1. 2. *That the Soul is part of God, of God's*
p. 16. *being, without beginning, and also infinite.*

Reason THIS charge, *William Penn* says, is false.
against To prove it, *Mr. Hicks* quotes this pas-
railing, p. sage out of the *Quakers* writings. Is
65. not the soul without beginning? And
G. Fox. produces plain places where they say ex-
Gr. Myst. pressly, 'tis without beginning or ending,
p. 90, 29, infinite, not a creature, but part of God, of
100, 68. God's being.

Dial. 3. p. 3. I DO accuse the *Quakers*, that they
2. deny *Jesus Christ* to be a distinct person
without us.

William Penn says, this is an unsound inference, from their asserting the true light with which every man is enlightened to be the Christ of God and Saviour of the world.

IN answer to this, *Mr. Hicks* cites some passages, which shew he was not mistaken, from their own books.

G. Fox. *Jesus Christ*, a person without us, is not
Dip. plea, scripture language; but to suppose him to
p. 13. be so, is anthropomorphism, mugletonian-
App. to ism and socinianism; and the thoughts of
Reasons a human and personal Christ, are carnal
against railings, p. imaginations and dark thoughts.
21, 27.

GIVE

GIVE me one place that mentions Christ to be a distinct person without us. God's Christ, and Christ is not distinct from his Saints. If there be any other Christ but he that is crucified within us, he is the false Christ.

Counter-
feit Chri-
stian.
G. Fox's
Great My-
stery, p.
207, 16,
206.

4. *That Christ redeems himself.*

William Penn says, that this is a gross perversion.

Dial. 4. p.
47.
Reasons
against
railing.

FOR the proof of this, Mr. *Hicks* refers to several passages, such as these :

FEW are come to know what it is wants redemption, and that the promise is to ; for there is a seed to which the promise is. Christ is the election and the seed.

James
Naylor's
Love to
the lost, p.
47, 32.

THE promise of God is to the seed, that hath been laden as a cart with sheaves by the sinner, which seed is the hope Christ. We assert the redemption of the seed. 'Tis not absurd to affirm, that the end of God's manifesting himself in the flesh, was for the redemption and deliverance of his holy life, that was in man, as a small seed, that had been long vex'd, grieved and pressed down by sin and iniquity. This seed was and is pure for ever, &c.

G. Fox
Great My-
stery, p.
324.

Reason
against
railing,
p. 62, 63,
64, &c.

5. *THAT the Quakers deny the Scriptures to be the rule of life and practice to Christians.*

WE deny the scripture to be the rule
of

Reaf. a-
gainst rail-
ing.
Ed. Bur-
roughs, p.
62.
G. White-
head.
Christ af-
cend.
Dial. 1. p.
28.
G. White-
head, Se-
rious
Apol. p.
49.

of faith and practice, in honour of the
Divine light their author. He that pers-
uades people the scriptures are so, is dark-
ness; 'tis a setting the scriptures in the
place of Christ.

6. *That the speaking of the spirit in any
one is of greater authority than the Scrip-
tures.*

THIS is proved expressly by the an-
swer of a Quaker to one who put the
question to him.

7. *That is no command of God to me,
which God hath given to another; neither
did any of the saints act by that command
which was given to another; every one o-
beyed their own command.*

8. *That justification by that righteousness
which Christ fulfilled for us, wholly without
us, is a doctrine of devils.*

9. *That the Quakers hold justification by
works, in the strictest notion.*

GOD accepts not any when there is
any failing, or who do not fulfil the whole
law, and answer all the demands of jus-
tice. We must not conceive *Abraham's*
personal offering was not a justifying righ-
teousness, but that God was pleased to
count it so; nor was there any imputa-
tion of another righteousness to *Abraham*;
but on the contrary, his personal righ-
teousness

Ed. Bur-
roughs, p.
33.

W. Penn
Reaf. a-
gainst rail-
ing, p. 80.

ousness was the ground of that just imputation: Therefore that any should be justified by another righteousness imputed, and not inherent in him, is both ridiculous and dangerous.

10. *That Christ fulfilled the law only as our pattern.* Dial. 2. p. 52.

William Penn says, the word *only* is not there, nor is the fulfilling of the law, the subject there treated of. Sandy Found. p. 26.

THE citation at large, *Rom. ii. 13.* from whence I observe, unless we become doers of that law, which Christ came not to destroy, but as our example to fulfil, we can never be justified before God; wherefore obedience is so absolutely necessary, that short of it there can be no acceptance; nor let any fancy, that Christ hath so fulfilled it for them, as to exclude their obedience from being requisite to their acceptance, but *only* as their pattern.

11. *That the doctrine of Christ's satisfaction is irreligious and irrational.*

O the infamous portraicture, this doctrine draws of the infinite goodness! Is this your retribution, O injurious satisfactionists? Sandy Found. p. 22.

12. *That this body which dies shall not rise again.*

George Whitehead said these words before several witnesses.

William

Reas. a-
gainst rail-
ing, p.
133, 134.

William Penn says, This doctrine is inconsistent with scripture and reason; it out-does transubstantiation in absurdity.

As to the *second* head or matter of practice.

1. *That it concerns them to render their adversaries as ridiculous as they can, and to make their friends believe, they do nothing but contradict themselves; and if this fail, to insinuate something by way of question, that may slander them.*

Spirit of truth vindicated, p. 6. THAT that is their practise, *Mr. Hicks* proves from *William Penn's* complaint, that he had not an opportunity to do thus by the Author of the *Spirit of the Quakers* tried, because he had not set down his name.

Divinity of Christ, P. 49. *George Whitehead*, in answer to *Mr. Dunson*, who styles himself minister of the Gospel at *Sandwich*, asks, But is not rather that report true, that he was given to gaming, &c?

Spirit of truth vindicated, p. 137. To excuse him *William Penn* says, who knows not, that priests don't scruple these things? and if *George Whitehead*, to detect the priest, did make this query, must it be presumed, he took him for such? It is not just therefore for *William Penn* to charge me with forgery in that particular.

2. *I charged the Quakers, that they called such as asked them questions, reprobates; and saying, they are in the sorcery and the witchcraft.*

William

William Penn says, it is a great lie. See *Edward Burrough's Works*, p. 29, 34.

3. *That William Penn, by the sense of the eternal spirit doth declare, that these cursing, railing, and lying answers of Edward Burroughs, were the only fit answers to the Priest's trepanning questions. William Penn calls that an ungodly slander; but see the very words.*

4. *They prefer their own pamphlets to the bible; for they call the one the voice of wisdom, breathings of true love, shield of faith, a spiritual glass, light risen out of darkness: But the scriptures are called letter, dead letter, paper, ink, and writing, carnal letter, &c.* Reas. a-
gainst rail-
ing, p.
164.

5. *They bid people follow the light within, and if they don't, they revile them.*

William Penn calls it a great lie; but it is plain from their railings at such as oppose them and their error.

6. *They say God himself is the immediate teacher of his people, and yet they appoint their ministers to speak in such a place.* Dial. 2. p.
66.

SEE this urged against them by the Author of *the Spirit of the bat*, one no stranger to their practices.

7. *They entitle God to sleeveless errands.* Dial. 1 p.

8. *They refuse publick meetings to debate the chief things in difference between them* 27.
and

and others, under pretence of their being cautious of running theirs into jeopardy.

William Penn says, this is a notorious falsehood. *Mr. Hicks* answers, I can prove it by several witnesses. *Mr. Prior's* letters to *Mr. Haworth*, has those very words in it.

9. *That they own the Scripture as far as it agrees with the light within.*

William Penn says, this is a forgery. *Mr. Hicks* says, this is proved before, in that they assert the scripture to be given forth from the light within.

10. *That the light within created heaven and earth, and is the immediate object of divine worship.* This is proved under the first doctrinal charge, tho' *William Penn* says, it is a forgery.

Reas. against railing.

11. *That if these things objected in the two first dialogues be true, William Penn hath confessed a Quaker is no Christian.*

William Penn charges this also as a forgery, tho' he has writ these words. He, *Mr. Hicks*, to vindicate himself from injustice, has given us a second part, wherein he hopes to make good what he has charged on us by quotations out of our own books; which if faithfully done, I shall freely acknowledge, that a *Quaker* is quite another thing from a *Christian*.

Reas. against railing, p 4.

12. *William Penn* accuses me of forgery, in saying he has these words, viz. *That*
were

were we what he represents us, the worst plagues, and judgments of God would be our portion. Which are his own words, with this little alteration, that he says, we might justly expect them to be our portion for ever.

13. *William Penn* charges me with a downright lie, in giving this answer to *George Whitehead's* name, viz. *That the plagues and judgments of God will follow thee*; tho' it is attested too under *Mr. John Gladman's* own hand. Reas. a-
gainst rail-
ing, p.
163.
Dial. 3. p.
85.

14. *That their owning Christ is no other than a meer mystical romance; and that the light within them sees no necessity of a mediator*: And tho' *William Penn* calls these lies and slanders, yet they are true, since they deny Christ to be a distinct person, and maintain, that God accepts not of any who do not fulfil the law, and every demand of justice. Reas. a-
gainst rail-
ing, p.
154.

15. ANOTHER lie, *William Penn* charges me with, is this; *That the Quakers deny Christ's visible coming, and appearance in the World*: Whereas *Edward Burroughs* having returned answer to a certain gentleman, that Christ never was visible to him or his generation; I only noted, that the Quaker denied Christ was ever visible to such wicked men as he esteemed the Querist. Ibid.

16. *That they account the blood of Christ but as the blood of a common thief*; which

Ibid. tho' William Penn says is an ungodly aspersi^{on}, is fully made out.

Dial. 2 p. 3-4. 17. That one of their friends bid her husband take another woman.

Dial. 2. p. 63. 18. That a revelation hath been pretended to excuse the payment of a just debt.

Dial. 3. Epist. 19. That some of their friends have excused some of their villanies, by pretence to an innocent life.

CONCERNING these three last I propose this unto the *Quakers*, That if they will chuse six sober and disinterested persons, I also will do the like, and if I cannot give sufficient reasons for what I have objected against them, I will contentedly submit unto what these men will determine.

WE whose names are under-written do certify, that the aforesaid quotations are truly recited out of the books to which they refer.

Witness our hands,

Dan. Dyke
Thomas Paul
Tho. Wilcocks
Jona. Jennings
Owen Davis
Wm. Dix
Robert Maton
Hanserd Knollys
Hen. Forty
Rob. Snelling

Tho. Plant
John Hunter
John Vernon
John Gosnold
John Norcott
Maur. King
Joseph Morton
John Snelling
Edw. Noble.

THERE

THERE were many more Ministers and others, who were ready to attest the same.

N.B. WE have abbreviated the account by much. There was an advertisement giving notice, that Mr. *William Kiffin* was not present by reason of business; but that he had since examined and found the quotations just.

William Kiffin.

Thomas Hicks having thus met at the time and place appointed, made it appear out of the *Quakers* own books, that he had not wronged them in the least. The Church therefore to which he belonged, in publick print cleared him from the *Quakers* charge; and declared to the world, that they as yet see no just cause of blame to be laid unto *Thomas Hicks*; but that if any one shall object any new matter against him, if they signify the particulars in writing, they will return such answers thereunto, as to them may seem just, and that may also be to the satisfaction of all indifferent and unprejudiced minds, hoping that nothing shall lie upon them in point of duty towards him, but that by the grace of God, they shall be ready to do it.

Epistle to the Quakers appeal answered.

William Kiffin
Thomas Paul
Henry Forty

Daniel Dyke
Hanserd Knollys.

MR. *Wills*, in his appeal to the *Baptists* against Esqr; *Danvers*, observes, that tho' the *Quakers* were disappointed as to the issue of their Appeal, ' yet it doth appear, says he, to all impartial and unprejudiced persons, that the *Baptists* have carried the whole business with a great deal of fairness and impartiality to both sides, as became just judges and good Christians, and vindicated the honesty of their brother from the unjust aspersions of his adversaries.'

THE *Quakers* exhibited a new complaint, in which they desired a rehearing of the whole matter, which at last was granted them. Wherein they behaved themselves so disorderly, as displeased the whole auditory; and finding themselves not able to get the better of the *Baptists*, being disappointed of the success they hoped for, appointed a meeting at their own house in *Wheeler-street*: Thither Mr. *Hicks* would not go, because they who had appealed were no fit judges to condemn in that case, upon which they had appealed; but sent Mr. *Ives* thither with some others, who so managed the *Quakers*, that they were obliged to break up, without any further proceedings in the matter.

Life, p.
310.

Thomas Ellwood tells us, that he let fly a broad-side at the *Baptists*, in a single sheet of paper, under the title of *A fresh Pursuit*. ' In which, says he, having re-

stated

‘ stated the controversy between them and
‘ us, and reinforced our charge of forge-
‘ ry, &c. against *Thomas Hicks* and his
‘ *abettors*; I offered a fair challenge to
‘ them, not only to *Thomas Hicks* him-
‘ self, but to all those his *compurgators*,
‘ who had before undertaken to acquit
‘ him from our charge, together with
‘ their companion *Jer. Ives*, to give me
‘ a fair and publick meeting, in which
‘ I would make good our charge against
‘ him as *principal*, and all the rest of
‘ them as *accessaries*; but nothing could
‘ provoke them to come fairly forth.’

THOUGH Mr. *Ives* lived some years after this, yet Mr. *Ellwood* would never forgive him, for so smartly handling them in the controversy then between them. For he tells us himself, that when he heard of his death, the impression made upon his mind as well at this time, as before, drew from him something like an *Epitaph*, which is published in the *history of his Life*, page 313, &c. But it is such a barefaced piece of *defamation*, and a confirmation of one of the articles respecting their practice, which Mr. *Hicks* charged them with, that I believe the *Quakers* of the present day, who are a more sober and inoffensive people, would rather have it buried in oblivion; and therefore I omit it.

THE *Baptists* did publish an account of the two last meetings between them and the *Quakers*, together with the occasion of these meetings, as also what letters passed in order thereunto; it was entitled, *A contest for Christianity*, with some reflections upon several passages that were published in the account which the *Quakers* gave of the said meetings. The same is submitted to the judgment of all judicious and impartial men, and too long to be inserted in this history, I must therefore refer the reader thereunto; and shall only observe in this place, that the *Quakers* being so chaf'd in their disputes with the *Baptists*, that they did not only brand them with infamy, but denounced curses and judgments upon them, because they so strongly withstood that spirit of delusion which they seemed to them to be under at this time; as appears in the following instance.

MR. *Ralph James*, Pastor of the *Baptist* church at *North-Willingham* in the county of *Lincoln*, having either disputed or otherwise declared his testimony, and bore witness against the errors of the *Quakers*, one *Richard Anderson*, a *Quaker*, who lived at *Panton* in the same county, impiously assumed to himself the character of a prophet sent of God, and in the name of God denounced this heavy judgment upon Mr. *James* in his presence, viz. That
he

he should become a leper from head to foot for his opposing the spirit of the *Quakers*, or their light within; adding at the same time, that if he was deceived, the self-same plague should befall both him and his family: which accordingly came to pass, for in a little time they were all leprous, and then the *Quaker* in extremity of pain, came sorrowing and making his complaint to Mr. *James*, begging and intreating his prayers to God on his behalf, that he might be released from that severe judgment; and accordingly Mr. *James* and his congregation kept days of fasting and prayer for him, and God was graciously pleased to give them ease and to heal them, which Mr. *Anderson* freely confessed, and then addressed himself to their meetings.

THIS surprising instance with two others of the like nature, were soon after printed under the title of *A true and impartial Narrative of the eminent band of God, that befel a Quaker and his family*. This starting piece soon alarmed the *Quakers*, and lest it should farther expose their delusion, and injure their cause, *Thomas Rudyard*, a lawyer, published in answer to it, a book entitled, *The Anabaptists lying Wonder*, to which a reply soon followed, intituled, *The Quakers subterfuge or evasion overturned*, wherein the truth of the foregoing Narrative was farther confirmed

and established, and the *Quakers* thereupon became silenced upon this head, tho' they fell to disputation in several parts of the kingdom; in which Mr. *Thomas Grantham*, and others of the *Baptists* were very much engaged.

Anno
1677.

IN the year 1677, was published by the *Baptists*, a *Confession of their Faith*, put forth by the elders and brethren of many congregations of *Christians*, baptized upon profession of their faith, in London and the country. It is introduced with an Advertisement to the judicious and impartial Reader. Wherein they observe, that it was many years since divers of them, with others, did conceive themselves under a necessity of publishing a confession of their faith; and that many others have since embraced the same truth which was owned therein. They judged it necessary to join together in giving a testimony to the world of their firm adhering to those wholesome principles, by the publication of this. And as their method and manner of expressing their sentiments, doth vary from the former, altho' the matter of the substance is the same; so they give the reasons thereof in the following words.

' ONE thing, say they, that greatly prevailed with us to undertake this work, was (not only to give a full account

‘ count of ourselves, to those Christians
‘ that differ from us about the subject of
‘ baptism, but also) the profit that might
‘ from thence arise, unto those that have
‘ any account of our labours, in their in-
‘ struction, and establishment in the great
‘ truths of the Gospel ; in the clear un-
‘ derstanding and steady belief of which,
‘ our comfortable walking with God,
‘ and fruitfulness before him, in all our
‘ ways, is most nearly concerned. And,
‘ therefore, we did conclude it necessary
‘ to express ourselves the more fully, and
‘ distinctly ; and also to fix on such a me-
‘ thod as might be most comprehensive
‘ of those things which we designed to
‘ explain our sense and belief of. And
‘ finding no defect, in this regard, in that
‘ fixed on by the Assembly, and after
‘ them by those of the congregational
‘ way, we did readily conclude it best to
‘ retain the same *order* in our present con-
‘ fession. And also, when, we observed
‘ that those last mentioned did in their
‘ confession, (for reasons which seemed
‘ of weight both to themselves and o-
‘ thers) chuse not only to express their
‘ minds in words concurrent with the for-
‘ mer in sense, concerning all those arti-
‘ cles wherein they were agreed, but al-
‘ so for the most part without any varia-
‘ tion of the terms ; we did in like man-
‘ ner conclude it best to follow their ex-
‘ ample,

ample, in making use of the very same words with them both, in these articles, (which are very many) wherein our faith and doctrine is the same with theirs. And this we did, the more abundantly to manifest our consent with both, in all the fundamental articles of the Christian Religion; as also with many others, whose orthodox confessions have been published to the world, on the behalf of the Protestants in divers nations and cities: And also to convince all, that we have no itch to clog religion with new words, but do readily acquiesce in that form of sound words, which hath been, in consent with the Holy Scriptures, used by others before us; hereby declaring before God, angels, and men, our hearty agreement with them, in that wholesome Protestant Doctrine, which with so clear evidence of scriptures they have asserted. Some things indeed, are in some places added, some terms omitted, and some few changed; but these alterations are of that nature, as that we need not doubt any charge or suspicion of unsoundness in the faith, from any of our brethren upon the account of them.

IN those things wherein we differ from others, we have expressed ourselves with all candour and plainness, that

‘ that none might entertain jealousy of
‘ ought secretly lodged in our breasts, that
‘ we would not the world should be ac-
‘ quainted with; yet we hope we have
‘ also observed those rules of modesty,
‘ and humility, as will render our free-
‘ dom in this respect inoffensive, even to
‘ those whose sentiments are different
‘ from ours. We have also taken care to
‘ affix texts of scripture in the margin,
‘ for the confirmation of each article in
‘ our confession. In which work we
‘ have studiously endeavoured to select
‘ such as are most clear and pertinent,
‘ for the proof of what is asserted by us.
‘ And our earnest desire is, that all, into
‘ whose hands this may come, would
‘ follow that never enough commended
‘ example of the noble *Bereans*, who
‘ searched the scriptures daily, that they
‘ might find out whether the things
‘ preached to them, were so or not.

‘ THERE is one thing more which
‘ we sincerely profess, and earnestly de-
‘ sire credence in, *viz.* that contention is
‘ most remote from our design in all that
‘ we have done in this matter. And we
‘ hope the liberty of an ingenuous un-
‘ folding our principles, and opening our
‘ hearts unto our brethren, with the
‘ scripture grounds on which our faith
‘ and practice leans, will by none of
‘ them be either denied to us, or taken ill
‘ from

‘ from us. Our whole design is accom-
‘ plished, if we may obtain that justice,
‘ as to be measured in our principles and
‘ practice, and the judgment of both by
‘ others, according to what we have now
‘ published ; which the Lord, whose eyes
‘ are as a flame of fire, knoweth to be
‘ the doctrine, which with our hearts we
‘ most firmly believe, and sincerely en-
‘ deavour to conform our lives to. And
‘ oh ! that other contentions being laid a-
‘ sleep, the only care and contention of
‘ all upon whom the name of our Blessed
‘ Redeemer is called, might for the fu-
‘ ture be, *to walk humbly with their God,*
‘ and in the exercise of all love and meek-
‘ ness towards each other ; *to perfect holi-*
‘ *ness in the fear of the Lord* ; each one
‘ endeavouring *to have his conversation*
‘ *such as becometh the Gospel* ; and also
‘ suitable to his place and capacity, vi-
‘ gorously to promote in others the prac-
‘ tice of true religion, and undefiled in the
‘ sight of God and our Father : And that
‘ in this backsliding day, we might not
‘ spend our breath in fruitless complaints
‘ of the evils of others, but may every
‘ one begin at home, to reform in the
‘ first place our own hearts and ways,
‘ and then to quicken all that we may
‘ have influence upon, to the same work ;
‘ that if the will of God were so, none
‘ might deceive themselves, by resting in,
‘ and

‘ and trusting to a form of godliness,
‘ without the power of it, and inward
‘ experience of the efficacy of those truths
‘ that are professed by them.’

THIS Confession of Faith was reprinted in the year 1689, and was approved of, and recommended by the ministers and messengers of above an hundred congregations met in *London*; and is still generally received by all those congregations, that hold the doctrine of personal election, and the certainty of the saints final perseverance: And therefore, I shall reserve the exhibition thereof till I come to treat of that time; and only add the Appendix they annexed to the Confession, published at this time.

THEY say, ‘ Whosoever reads, and
‘ impartially considers, what we have in
‘ our foregoing Confession declared, may
‘ readily perceive, that we do not only
‘ concenter with all other true Christians
‘ on the word of God, revealed in the
‘ scriptures of truth, as the foundation and
‘ rule of our faith and worship; but that
‘ we have also industriously endeavoured
‘ to manifest, that in the fundamental
‘ articles of Christianity we *mind the same*
‘ *things*, and have therefore expressed our
‘ belief in the same words, that have on
‘ the like occasion been spoken by other
‘ societies of Christians before us.

‘ THIS

‘ THIS we have done, that those who
 ‘ are desirous to know the principles of
 ‘ religion which we hold and practise,
 ‘ may take an estimate from ourselves,
 ‘ who jointly concur in this work; and
 ‘ may not be misguided, either by undue
 ‘ reports, or by the ignorance or errors of
 ‘ particular persons; who going under
 ‘ the same name with ourselves, may give
 ‘ an occasion of scandalizing the truth
 ‘ we profess.

‘ AND altho’ we do differ from our
 ‘ brethren who are *Pædobaptists*, in the
 ‘ subject and administration of baptism,
 ‘ and such other circumstances as have a
 ‘ necessary dependance on our observance
 ‘ of that ordinance, and do frequent our
 ‘ own Assemblies for our mutual edifica-
 ‘ tion, and discharge of those duties and
 ‘ services which we owe unto God, and
 ‘ in his fear to each other: Yet we would
 ‘ not be from hence misconstrued, as if
 ‘ the discharge of our own consciences
 ‘ herein, did any ways disoblige or alie-
 ‘ nate our affections or conversation from
 ‘ any others that fear the Lord; but that
 ‘ we may and do, as we have opportuni-
 ‘ ty, participate of the labours of those,
 ‘ whom God hath indued with abilities
 ‘ above ourselves, and qualified, and called
 ‘ to the ministry of the *word*; earnestly
 ‘ desiring to approve ourselves to be such,
 ‘ as follow after peace with holiness. And
 ‘ therefore

therefore we always keep that blessed
Irenicum, or healing word of the Apo-
 stle before our eyes: *If in any thing* Phil. iii.
*ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal*¹⁵
even this unto you: Nevertheless whereto
we have already attained, let us walk
by the same rule, let us mind the same
thing.

LET it not therefore be judged of
 us (because much hath been written on
 this subject, and yet we continue this
 our practice different from others) that
 it is out of obstinacy; but rather, as the
 truth is, that we do herein according to
 the best of our understandings, worship
 God out of a pure mind, yielding obe-
 dience to his precept, in that method
 which we take to be most agreeable to
 the scriptures of truth, and primitive
 practice.

IT would not become us to give any
 such intimation, as should carry a sem-
 blance that what we do in the service
 of God is with a doubting conscience;
 or with any such temper of mind that
 we do thus for the present, with a re-
 servation that we will do otherwise here-
 after upon more mature deliberation.
 Nor have we any cause so to do; be-
 ing fully persuaded, that what we do
 is agreeable to the will of God. Yet
 we do heartily propose this; that if any
 of the servants of our Lord *Jesus* shall
 in

‘ in the spirit of meekness, attempt to
 ‘ convince us of any mistake either in
 ‘ judgment or practice, we shall diligent-
 ‘ ly ponder his arguments; and account
 ‘ him our chiefest friend that shall be an
 ‘ instrument to convert us from any error
 ‘ that is in our ways: For we cannot wit-
 ‘ tingly do any thing against the truth,
 ‘ but all things for the truth.

‘ AND therefore we have endeavoured
 ‘ seriously to consider what hath been
 ‘ already offered for our satisfaction in
 ‘ this point: And are loth to say any
 ‘ more, lest we should be esteemed desi-
 ‘ rous of renewed contests thereabout.
 ‘ Yet forasmuch as it may justly be ex-
 ‘ pected, that we shew some reason, why
 ‘ we cannot acquiesce in what hath been
 ‘ urged against us, we shall with as much
 ‘ brevity, as may consist with plainness,
 ‘ endeavour to satisfy the expectation of
 ‘ those, that shall peruse what we now
 ‘ publish in this matter also.

‘ I. As to those Christians who con-
 ‘ sent with us, *That repentance from dead*
 ‘ *works, and faith towards God, and our*
 ‘ *Lord Jesus Christ, is required in per-*
 ‘ *sons to be baptized;* and do therefore
 ‘ supply the defect, of the infant being
 ‘ incapable of making confession of either,
 ‘ by others, who do undertake these things
 ‘ for it: Altho’ we do find by Church-
 ‘ History, that this hath been a very an-
 ‘ cient

' cient practice ; yet considering, that the
 ' same scripture which does caution us
 ' against censuring our brother, with
 ' whom we shall all stand before the
 ' judgment-seat of Christ, does also in-
 ' struct us, *That every one of us shall give* Rom. xiv.
 ' *an account of himself to God, and what-* 4, 10, 12,
 ' *soever is not of faith is sin ;* therefore 23.
 ' we cannot for our parts be persuaded
 ' in our minds, to build such a practice
 ' as this, upon an unwritten tradition : But
 ' do rather choose in all points of faith
 ' and worship, to have recourse to the
 ' holy Scriptures, for the information of
 ' our judgment, and regulation of our
 ' practice ; being well assured that a con-
 ' scientious attending thereto, is the best
 ' way to prevent and rectify our defects
 ' and errors. And if any such case happen 2 Tim.
 ' to be debated between Christians, which iii. 16.,
 ' is not plainly determinable by the Scrip-
 ' tures, we think it safest to leave such
 ' things undecided until the second com-
 ' ing of our Lord *Jesus* ; as they did in
 ' the church of old, until there should
 ' arise a priest with *Urim* and *Thummim*, Ezra ii.
 ' that might certainly inform them of 62.
 ' the mind of God thereabout.

' 2. As for those our christian bre-
 ' thren, who do ground their arguments
 ' for infants baptism, upon a presumed
 ' fœderal holiness, or church-member-
 ' ship ; we conceive they are deficient in

‘ this, that albeit this covenant-holiness
 ‘ and membership should be as is supposed,
 ‘ ed, in reference unto the infants of be-
 ‘ lievers; yet no command for infant-
 ‘ baptism does immediately and directly
 ‘ result from such a quality, or relation.
 ‘ All instituted worship receives its sanc-
 ‘ tion from the precept, and is thereby
 ‘ governed in all the necessary circum-
 ‘ stances thereof. So it was in the cove-
 ‘ nant that God made with *Abraham*
 ‘ and his seed. The sign whereof was
 ‘ appropriated only to the male, notwith-
 ‘ standing that the female seed, as well as
 ‘ the male, were comprehended in the co-
 ‘ venant, and part of the Church of God.
 ‘ Neither was this sign to be affixed to
 ‘ any male-infant till he was eight days
 ‘ old, albeit he was within the covenant
 ‘ from the first moment of his life. Nor
 ‘ could the danger of death, or any o-
 ‘ ther supposed necessity, warrant the
 ‘ circumcising of him before the set time.
 ‘ Nor was there any cause for it; the
 ‘ commination of *being cut off from his*
 ‘ *people* being only upon the neglect, or
 ‘ contempt of the precept.

‘ **RIGHTEOUS Lot** was nearly related
 ‘ to *Abraham* in the flesh, and contem-
 ‘ porary with him, when this covenant
 ‘ was made: Yet inasmuch as he did not
 ‘ descend from his loins, nor was of his
 ‘ household-family, altho’ he was of the
 ‘ same

‘ same household of faith with *Abraham*;
‘ yet neither *Lot* himself, nor any of his
‘ posterity, because of their descent from
‘ him, were signed with the signature
‘ of this covenant, that was made with
‘ *Abraham* and his seed.

‘ THIS may suffice to shew, that
‘ where there was both an express cove-
‘ nant, and a sign thereof, such a cove-
‘ nant as did separate the persons with
‘ whom it was made, and all their off-
‘ spring, from all the rest of the world,
‘ as a people holy unto the Lord, and
‘ did constitute them the visible Church
‘ of God, tho’ not comprehensive of all
‘ the faithful in the world; yet the sign
‘ of this covenant was not affixed to all
‘ the persons that were within this cove-
‘ nant, nor to any of them till the pre-
‘ fixed season; nor to other faithful ser-
‘ vants of God, that were not of de-
‘ scent from *Abraham*. And consequent-
‘ ly that it depends purely upon the will
‘ of the Law-giver, to determine what
‘ shall be the sign of his covenant; unto
‘ whom, at what season, and upon what
‘ terms, it shall be affixed.

‘ IF our brethren do suppose baptism to
‘ be the seal of the covenant, which God
‘ makes with every believer, of which the
‘ Scriptures are altogether silent; it is not
‘ our concern to contend with them here-
‘ in. Yet we conceive, the seal of that co-

' Venant is the indwelling of the Spirit of
 ' Christ, in the particular and individual
 ' persons in whom he resides, and no-
 ' thing else. Neither do they or we sup-
 ' pose, that baptism is in any such manner
 ' substituted in the place of circumcision,
 ' as to have the same, and no other la-
 ' titude, extent, or terms, than circum-
 ' cision had. For that was suited only
 ' for the male-children; baptism is an or-
 ' dinance suited for every believer, whe-
 ' ther male or female: That extended to
 ' all the males that were born in *Abra-*
 ' *ham's* house, or bought with his money,
 ' equally with the males that proceeded
 ' from his own loins; but baptism is not
 ' so far extended in any true Christian
 ' Church that we know of, as to be ad-
 ' ministr'd to all the poor infidel ser-
 ' vants, that the members thereof pur-
 ' chase for their service, and introduce in-
 ' to their families; nor to the children
 ' born of them in their house.

' BUT we conceive the same parity of
 ' reasoning may hold for the ordinance
 ' of baptism, as for that of circumcision:
 ' viz. *One law for the stranger, as for the*
 ' *home-born.* If any desire to be admit-
 ' ted to all the ordinances and privileges
 ' of God's house, the door is open, up-
 ' on the very same terms that any one
 ' person was ever admitted to all, or
 ' any of those privileges, that belong to
 ' the

Exod. xii.
 49.

‘ the Christian Church, may all persons
 ‘ of right challenge the like admission.
 ‘ As for that text of Scripture, *He re-* Rom. vi.
 ‘ *ceived circumcision, a seal of the righte-* 11.
 ‘ *ousness of the faith which he had, yet be-*
 ‘ *ing uncircumcised*; we conceive if the
 ‘ Apostle’s scope in that place be duely
 ‘ attended to, it will appear that no ar-
 ‘ gument can be taken from thence to
 ‘ inforce Infant-baptism. And foras-
 ‘ much as we find a full and fair ac-
 ‘ count of those words given by the
 ‘ learned Dr. *Lightfoot*, a man not to be
 ‘ suspected of partiality in this contro-
 ‘ versy, in his *Hor. Hebraic.* on the
 ‘ 1 Cor. vii. 19. p. 42, 43. we shall
 ‘ transcribe his words at large, without
 ‘ any comment of our own upon them.

*Circumcisio nihil
 est, ratione habita
 temporis, jam enim
 evanuerat, ad im-
 plecto præcipue ejus
 fine ob quem fuerat
 instituta: Istum fi-
 nem exhibet apostolus
 in verbis istis, Rom.
 iv. 11. σφραγίδα τῆς
 δικαιοσύνης τῆς πίστεως τῆς
 ἐν ἁνοψυσίᾳ. At ve-
 reor ne a plerisque
 versionibus non satis
 aptentur*

‘ CIRCUMCISI-
 ‘ ON is nothing, if
 ‘ we respect the
 ‘ time, for now it
 ‘ was without use;
 ‘ that end of it be-
 ‘ ing especially ful-
 ‘ filled, for which
 ‘ it had been insti-
 ‘ tuted; this end the
 ‘ Apostle declares
 ‘ in these words,
 ‘ Rom. iv. 11. σφρα-
 ‘ γίδα, &c. But I

*aptentur ad finem
circumcisionis & scopum
Apostoli, dum ab iis
interferitur aliquid de suo.*

‘ fear that by most
‘ translations they
‘ are not sufficient-
‘ ly suited to the
‘ end of circumci-
‘ sion, and the scope
‘ of the Apostle,
‘ whilst something
‘ of their own is
‘ by them inserted.

‘ AND after the Doctor hath repre-
‘ sented diverse versions of the words, a-
‘ greeing for the most part in sense with
‘ that which we have in our Bibles, he
‘ thus proceeds.

*Alicæ in eundem
sensum, ac si cir-
cumcisio daretur A-
brahamo in sigillum
justitiæ istius, quam
ille habuit, dum ad-
huc foret præputia-
tus; quod non nega-
bimus aliquammodo ve-
rum esse; at credi-
mus circumcisionem
longe alio præcipue
respexisse.*

‘ OTHER versi-
‘ ons are to the
‘ same purpose, as
‘ if circumcision
‘ was given to A-
‘ braham for a seal
‘ of that righteous-
‘ ness which he had,
‘ being yet uncir-
‘ cumcised; which
‘ we will not deny
‘ to be in some sense
‘ true; but we
‘ believe that cir-
‘ cumcision had

Liccat

‘ chiefly

Liccat mihi verba sic reddere. Et signum accepit circumcisionis, sigillum justitiæ fidei, quæ futura in præputio; quæ futura dico; non quæ fuerat Abrahamo adhuc præputiato; sed quæ futura semini ejus præputiato, id est, gentilibus, fidem olim Abrahami imitaturis.

‘ chiefly a far different respect.

‘ GIVE me leave thus to render the words. And he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of faith, which was to be in the uncircumcision: which was to be, I say; not which had been, nor that which Abraham had whilst he was yet uncircumcised; but that which his uncircumcised seed should have, that is, the Gentiles, who in time to come should imitate the faith of Abraham.

Nunc adverte bene, qua occasione instituta Abrahamo circumcisio, ponens tibi ante oculos historiam ejus, Gen. xvii.

‘ Now consider well, on what occasion circumcision on was instituted unto Abraham, setting before thine eyes the history thereof, Gen. xvii.

Fit

X 4

‘ THIS

Fit primo ei hæc promissio, multarum gentium eris tu pater (quonam sensu explicat Apostolus, isto capite.) Et subinde subjungitur duplex sigillum rei corroborandæ: immutatio scilicet nominis Abrami in Abrahamum, & institutio circumcisionis, v. 4. Ecce mihi tecum est fædus, eris tu pater multarum gentium. Quare vocatum est nomen ejus Abrahamus? In sigillationem hujus promissionis: Tu pater eris multarum gentium. Et quare instituta ei circumcisio? In sigillationem ejusdem promissionis; Tu pater eris multarum gentium. Ita ut hic sit sensus Apostoli, institutioni circumcisionis congruentissimus: accepit signum circumcisionis,

‘ THIS promise
‘ is first made unto
‘ him, *Thou shalt be
‘ the father of many
‘ nations* (in what
‘ sense the Apostle
‘ explaineth in that
‘ Chapter.) And
‘ then there is sub-
‘ joined a double seal
‘ for the confirma-
‘ tion of the thing:
‘ to wit, the change
‘ of the name *A-*
‘ *bram* into *Abra-*
‘ *ham*, and the in-
‘ stitution of cir-
‘ cumcision, v. 4.
‘ *Behold as for me,*
‘ *my covenant is*
‘ *with thee, and*
‘ *thou shalt be the*
‘ *father of many na-*
‘ *tions.* Wherefore
‘ was his name cal-
‘ led *Abraham*? For
‘ the sealing of this
‘ promise; *Thou*
‘ *shalt be the father*
‘ *of many nations.*
‘ And wherefore
‘ was circumcision
‘ instituted to him?
‘ For

*nis, sigillum justitiæ
fidei, quam olim e-
rat in circumciso
(vel Gentiles) habi-
tura & adeptura.*

‘ For the sealing of
‘ the same promise,
‘ Thou shalt be the
‘ father of many
‘ nations. So that
‘ this is the sense
‘ of the Apostle,
‘ most agreeable to
‘ the institution of
‘ circumcision : He
‘ received the sign
‘ of circumcision, a
‘ seal of the righte-
‘ ousness of faith,
‘ which in time to
‘ come the uncir-
‘ cumcision, or the
‘ Gentiles should
‘ have and obtain.

*Duplex semen e-
rat Abrahamo : na-
turale, Judæorum;
& fidele, gentilium
credentium. Signatur
naturale signo cir-
cumcisionis : primo
quidem in sui distinc-
tionem ab omnibus a-
liis gentibus, dum eæ
nonadhuc forent semen
Abrahami : at præ-
cipue in memoriam
justificationis genti-
um*

‘ Abraham had
‘ a twofold seed :
‘ natural, of the
‘ Jews; and faith-
‘ ful, of the believ-
‘ ing Gentiles. His
‘ natural seed was
‘ signed with the
‘ sign of circumcisi-
‘ on : First, indeed,
‘ for the distin-
‘ guishing of them
‘ from all other na-
‘ tions, whilst they
‘ as

um per fidem, cum ' as yet were not
tandem forent ejus ' the seed of *Abra-*
semen. Cessatura er- ' *ham*; but especi-
go merito erat cir- ' ally, for the me-
cumcizio, cum intro- ' morial of the
ducerentur Gentiles ' justification of the
ad fidem; quippe ' *Gentiles* by faith,
quod tunc finem su- ' when at length
um ultimum ac præ- ' they should be-
cipuum obtinuerat; ' come his seed.
Et perinde ἡ περιτομή ' Therefore circum-
ἐστίν. ' cision was of right
' to cease when the
' *Gentiles* were
' brought into the
' faith; forasmuch
' as then it had ob-
' tained its last and
' chief end; and
' thenceforth *cir-*
' *cumcision* is no-
' *thing.*

' THUS far he: Which we earnestly
' desire may be seriously weighed; for
' we plead not his authority, but the e-
' vidence of truth in his words.

' 3. OF whatsoever nature the *holi-*
' *ness* of the children, mentioned 1 *Cor.*
' vii. 12. be; yet they who do conclude,
' that all such children (whether infants
' or of riper years) have from hence an
' immediate right to baptism, do as we
' con-

‘ conceive put more into the conclusion,
‘ than will be found in the premises.

‘ FOR altho’ we do not determine po-
‘ sitively concerning the Apostle’s scope in
‘ the *holiness* here mentioned, so as to
‘ say, it is this or that, and no other
‘ thing; yet it is evident, that the Apo-
‘ stle does by it determine not only the
‘ lawfulness, but the expedience also of a
‘ believer’s co-habitation with an unbeliev-
‘ er, in the state of marriage.

‘ AND we do think that although the
‘ Apostle’s asserting of the unbelieving
‘ yoke-fellow to be *sanctified by the be-
‘ liever*, should carry in it somewhat more
‘ than is in the bare marriage of two in-
‘ fidels, because altho’ the marriage-cove-
‘ nant have a divine sanction, so as to
‘ make the wedlock of two unbelievers a
‘ lawful action, and their conjunction and
‘ co-habitation in that respect undefiled;
‘ yet there might be no ground to sup-
‘ pose from thence, that both or either of
‘ their persons are thereby *sanctified*; and
‘ the Apostle urges the co-habitation of
‘ a believer with an infidel in the state of
‘ wedlock from this ground, that the un-
‘ believing husband is *sanctified* by the be-
‘ lieving wife. Nevertheless here you
‘ have the influence of a believer’s faith,
‘ *ascending from an inferior to a superior
‘ relation*; from the wife to the husband
‘ who is her head, *before it can descend to
‘ their*

‘ *their offspring*. And therefore we say,
‘ whatever be the nature or extent of the
‘ *holiness* here intended, we conceive it
‘ cannot convey to the children an im-
‘ mediate right to baptism; because it
‘ would then be of another nature, and
‘ of a larger extent, than the root and
‘ original from whence it is derived. For
‘ it is clear, by the Apostle’s argument,
‘ that *holiness* cannot be derived to the
‘ child from the sanctity of one parent
‘ only, if either father or mother be (in
‘ the sense intended by the Apostle) *un-*
‘ *holy* or unclean. So will the child be
‘ also; therefore, for the production of an
‘ holy seed, it is necessary that both the pa-
‘ rents be sanctified. And this the Apostle
‘ positively asserts in the first place to be
‘ done by the believing parent, although
‘ the other be an unbeliever: And then
‘ consequentially from thence argues the
‘ holiness of their children. Hence it
‘ follows, that as the children have no
‘ other *holiness* than what they derive from
‘ both their parents; so neither can they
‘ have any right by this *holiness* to any
‘ spiritual privileges but such as both their
‘ parents did also partake of. And there-
‘ fore, if the unbelieving parent, tho’
‘ *sanctified* by the believing parent, have
‘ not thereby a right to baptism; nei-
‘ ther can we conceive, that there is any
‘ such

such privilege derived to their children
by their *birth-holiness*.

BESIDES, if it had been the usual
practice in the Apostle's days, for the
father or mother that did believe to
bring all their children with them to be
baptized: Then the holiness of the be-
lieving *Corinthians* children would not
at all have been in question, when this
epistle was written; but might have
been argued from their passing under
that ordinance, which represented their
new birth, altho' they had derived no
holiness from their parents, by their
first birth; and would have lain as an
exception against the Apostle's infe-
rence, *else were your children unclean*,
&c. But of the *sanctification* of all the
children of every believer by this or-
dinance, or any other way, than what
is before-mentioned, the Scripture is al-
together silent.

THIS may be also added, that if
this *birth-holiness* do qualify all the
children of every believer, for the ordi-
nance of baptism; why not for all o-
ther ordinances? For the Lord's-sup-
per, as was practised for a long time
together? For if recourse be had to
what the Scriptures speak generally of
this subject, it will be found that the
same qualities, which do intitle any
person to baptism, do so also for the
partici-

‘ participation of all the ordinances and
 ‘ privileges of the house of God, that are
 ‘ common to all believers.

‘ WHOSOEVER can and does interro-
 ‘ gate his good conscience towards God,
 ‘ when he is baptized (as every one must
 ‘ do that makes it to himself a sign of
 ‘ salvation) is capable of doing the same
 ‘ thing, in every other act of worship
 ‘ that he performs.

‘ 4. THE arguments and inferences
 ‘ that are usually brought for, or against
 ‘ infant-baptism, from those few instances
 ‘ which the Scriptures afford us, of whole
 ‘ families being baptized, are only con-
 ‘ jectural; and therefore cannot of them-
 ‘ selves be conclusive on either hand: Yet
 ‘ in regard most that treat on this sub-
 ‘ ject for infant-baptism, do, as they con-
 ‘ ceive, improve these instances to the
 ‘ advantage of their argument, we think
 ‘ it meet (in like manner as in the cases
 ‘ before-mentioned, so in this) to shew
 ‘ the invalidity of such inferences.

‘ *Cornelius worshipped God with all his*
 ‘ *house. The Jaylor, and Crispus, the*
 ‘ *chief ruler of the synagogue, believed*
 ‘ *God with each of their houses. The hous-*
 ‘ *hold of Stephanas addicted themselves to*
 ‘ *the ministry of the saints. So that thus*
 ‘ *far worshipping and believing runs paral-*
 ‘ *lel with baptism. And if Lydia had*
 ‘ *been a married person when she be-*
 ‘ *lieved,*

‘ lieved, it is probable her husband would
 ‘ also have been named by the Apostle,
 ‘ as in like cases, inasmuch as he would
 ‘ have been not only a part, but the head
 ‘ of that baptized household.

‘ Who can assign any probable rea-
 ‘ son, why the Apostle should make men-
 ‘ tion of four or five households being
 ‘ baptized, and no more? Or why he
 ‘ does so often vary in the method of his
 ‘ salutations: Sometimes only mentioning *Rom. i. 6.*
 ‘ particular persons of great note; other
 ‘ times such, *and the church in their*
 ‘ *house; the saints that were with them;*
 ‘ *and them belonging to Narcissus, who*
 ‘ *were in the Lord:* Thus saluting either
 ‘ whole families, or parts of families, or only
 ‘ particular persons in families, considered
 ‘ *as they were in the Lord?* For if it had
 ‘ been an usual practice to baptize all
 ‘ children, with their parents; there were
 ‘ then many thousands of the *Jews* which
 ‘ believed, and a great number of the
 ‘ *Gentiles*, in most of the principal cities
 ‘ in the world; and among so many thou-
 ‘ sands, it is more than probable there
 ‘ would have been some thousands of
 ‘ households baptized: Why then should
 ‘ the Apostle in this respect signalize one
 ‘ family of the *Jews*, and three or four
 ‘ of the *Gentiles*, as particular instances
 ‘ in a case that was common? Whoever
 ‘ supposes that we do wilfully debar our
 ‘ children

‘ children from the benefit of any pro-
‘ mise, or privilege, that of right be-
‘ longs to the children of believing pa-
‘ rents; they do entertain over severe
‘ thoughts of us. To be *without natural*
‘ *affections* is one of the characters of the
‘ worst of persons in the worst of times.
‘ We do freely confess ourselves guilty
‘ before the Lord, in that we have not
‘ with more circumspection and diligence
‘ trained up those that relate to us in the
‘ fear of the Lord; and do humbly and
‘ earnestly pray, that our omissions here-
‘ in may be remitted, and that they may
‘ not redound to the prejudice of our-
‘ selves, or any of ours. But with re-
‘ spect to that duty that is incumbent on
‘ us, we acknowledge ourselves obliged by
‘ the precepts of God, *to bring up our*
‘ *children in the nurture and admonition*
‘ *of the Lord*, to teach them his fear,
‘ both by instruction and example; and
‘ should we set light by this precept, it
‘ would demonstrate, that we are more
‘ vile than the unnatural *Heathen*, that
‘ *like not to retain God in their knowledge*;
‘ our baptism might then be justly ac-
‘ counted as no baptism to us. There
‘ are many special promises that do en-
‘ courage us, as well as precepts that do
‘ oblige us, to the close pursuit of our
‘ duty herein. That God, whom we
‘ serve, being jealous of his worship,
‘ threatens

‘ threatens the *visiting of the fathers*
 ‘ *transgressions upon the children, to the*
 ‘ *third and fourth generation of them that*
 ‘ *bate him*: Yet does he more abundant-
 ‘ ly extend his *mercy, even to thousands,*
 ‘ respecting the offspring and succeeding
 ‘ generations, of them *that love him, and*
 ‘ *keep his commands.*

‘ WHEN our Lord rebuked his disci-
 ‘ ples, for prohibiting the access of little
 ‘ children that were brought to him, that
 ‘ he might pray over them, lay his hands
 ‘ upon them, and bless them, does de-
 ‘ clare, *that of such is the kingdom of*
 ‘ *God*: And the Apostle *Peter*, in an-
 ‘ swer to their enquiry, that desired to
 ‘ know *what they must do to be saved*, does
 ‘ not only instruct them in the necessary
 ‘ duty of repentance and baptism; but
 ‘ does also thereto encourage them, by
 ‘ that *promise* which had reference both
 ‘ *to them and their children.* If our Lord
 ‘ *Jesus* in the fore-mentioned place, do
 ‘ not respect the qualities of children, as
 ‘ elsewhere, as to their meekness, humi-
 ‘ lity and sincerity, and the like, but in-
 ‘ tend also that those very persons and
 ‘ such like, appertain to the kingdom of
 ‘ God: And if the Apostle *Peter*, in
 ‘ mentioning the afore said *promise*, do re-
 ‘ spect not only the present and succeed-
 ‘ ing generations of those *Jews*, that
 ‘ heard him, in which sense the same
 VOL. II. Y phrase

‘ phrase doth occur in scripture, but also
 ‘ the immediate offspring of his audi-
 ‘ tors; whether the promise relate to the
 ‘ gift of the Holy Spirit, or of eternal life,
 ‘ or any grace or privilege tending to the
 ‘ obtaining thereof: It is neither our con-
 ‘ cern, nor our interest to confine the
 ‘ mercies, and promises of God, to a
 ‘ more narrow or less compass than he
 ‘ is pleased graciously to offer and intend
 ‘ them; nor to have a light esteem of
 ‘ them; but are obliged in duty to God,
 ‘ and affection to our children, to plead
 ‘ earnestly with God, and use our utmost
 ‘ endeavours, that both ourselves and our
 ‘ offspring may be partakers of his mer-
 ‘ cies and gracious promises. Yet we
 ‘ cannot from either of these texts, col-
 ‘ lect a sufficient warrant for us to bap-
 ‘ tize our children, before they are in-
 ‘ structed in the principles of the Chris-
 ‘ tian Religion.

‘ FOR as to the instance in *little chil-*
 ‘ *dren*; it seems by the disciples *forbid-*
 ‘ *ding* them, that they were brought up-
 ‘ on some other account, not so frequent
 ‘ as baptism must be supposed to have
 ‘ been, if from the beginning believers
 ‘ children had been admitted thereto:
 ‘ and no account is given, whether their
 ‘ parents were baptized believers or not.
 ‘ And as to the instance of the Apostle; if
 ‘ the following words and practice may
 ‘ be

‘ be taken as an interpretation of the
 ‘ scope of that *promise*, we cannot con-
 ‘ ceive it does refer to infant-baptism;
 ‘ because the text does presently subjoin;
 ‘ *then they that gladly received the word*
 ‘ *were baptized.*

‘ THAT there were some believing
 ‘ children of believing parents in the A-
 ‘ postle’s days, is evident from the Scrip-
 ‘ tures, even such as were then in their
 ‘ father’s family, and under their parents
 ‘ tuition, and education; to whom the
 ‘ Apostle in several of his epistles to the
 ‘ churches, giveth commands *to obey their*
 ‘ *parents in the Lord*; and does allure
 ‘ their tender years to hearken to this
 ‘ precept, by reminding them, that it is
 ‘ *the first command with promise.*

‘ AND it is recorded by him for the
 ‘ praise of *Timothy*, and encouragement
 ‘ of parents betimes to instruct, and chil-
 ‘ dren early to attend godly instruction,
 ‘ that ἀπὸ βρέφους, *from a child, he had*
 ‘ *known the Holy Scriptures.* The Apostle
 ‘ *John* rejoiced greatly, when he found
 ‘ *of the children of the elect lady* walking
 ‘ in the truth; and *the children of her e-*
 ‘ *lect sister* join with the Apostle in his
 ‘ salutation.

‘ BUT that this was not generally so,
 ‘ that all the children of believers were
 ‘ accounted for believers, as they would
 ‘ have been, if they had been all bap-

' tized, may be collected from the cha-
 ' racter which the Apostle gives of per-
 ' sons fit to be chosen to eldership in the
 ' church, which was not common to all
 ' believers. Among others, this is ex-
 ' pressly one; *viz. if there be any having*
 ' *believing, or faithful children,* not ac-
 ' cused of riot or unruly. And we may
 ' from the Apostle's writings on the same
 ' subject, collect the reason of this quali-
 ' fication; *viz. that in case the person*
 ' *designed for this office to teach and*
 ' *rule in the house of God, had children*
 ' *capable of it, there might be first a*
 ' *proof of his ability, industry and suc-*
 ' *cess in this work in his own family, and*
 ' *private capacity, before he was ordain-*
 ' *ed to the exercise of this authority in*
 ' *the church, in a publick capacity, as a*
 ' *bishop in the house of God.*

' THESE things we have mentioned
 ' as having a direct reference unto the
 ' controversy between our brethren and us.
 ' Other things, that are more abstruse and
 ' prolix, which are frequently introduced
 ' into this controversy, but do not neces-
 ' sarily concern it, we have purposely a-
 ' voided; that the distance between us
 ' and our brethren may not be by us
 ' made more wide: For it is our duty,
 ' and concern, so far as is possible for
 ' us, retaining a good conscience towards
 ' God,

God, to seek a more entire agreement and reconciliation with them.

WE are not insensible, that as to the order of God's house, and entire communion therein, there are some things wherein we, as well as others, are not at a full accord among ourselves. As for instance, the known principle and state of the consciences of divers of us, that have agreed in this confession is such, that we cannot hold church-communion with any other than baptized believers, and churches constituted of such. Yet some others of us have a greater liberty and freedom in our spirits that way; and therefore we have purposely omitted the mention of things of that nature, that we might concur in giving this evidence of our agreement, both among ourselves, and with other good Christians, in those important articles of the Christian Religion mainly insisted on by us. And this notwithstanding we all esteem it our chief concern, both among ourselves and all others, that in every place call upon the name of the Lord *Jesus Christ* our Lord, both theirs and ours, and love him in sincerity, *to endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace*; and in order thereto, to exercise *all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love.*

‘ And we are persuaded, if the same method were introduced into frequent practice between us and our christian friends, who agree with us in all the fundamental articles of the Christian Faith, tho’ they do not so in the subject and administration of baptism; it would soon beget a better understanding, and brotherly affection between us.

‘ IN the beginning of the Christian Church, when the doctrine of the baptism of *Christ* was not universally understood, yet those that knew only the baptism of *John*, were the disciples of the Lord *Jesus*; and *Apollos* an eminent minister of the gospel of *Jesus*.

‘ IN the beginning of the reformation of the Christian Church, and recovery from that *Egyptian* darkness, wherein our forefathers for many generations were held in bondage; upon recourse had to the Scriptures of truth, different apprehensions were conceived, which are to this time continued, concerning the practice of this ordinance.

‘ LET not our zeal herein be misinterpreted. That God whom we serve is jealous of his worship. By his gracious providence the law thereof is continued amongst us; and we are forwarned by what happened in the church of the *Jews*, that it is necessary for every generation, and that frequently in every generation,

‘neration, to consult the divine oracle,
‘compare our worship with the rule,
‘and take heed to what doctrines we re-
‘ceive and practise.

‘If the ten commands, exhibited in
‘the *popish* idolatrous service-book, had
‘been received as the entire law of God,
‘because they agree in number with his
‘ten commands, and also in the substance
‘of nine of them; the second command-
‘ment, forbidding idolatry, had been ut-
‘terly lost. If *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* had
‘not made a diligent search into the par-
‘ticular parts of God’s law, and his wor-
‘ship; the feast of tabernacles, which
‘for many centuries of years had not been
‘duely observed, according to the insti-
‘tution, though it was retained in the
‘general notion, would not have been
‘kept in due order.

‘So may it be now, as to many
‘things relating to the service of God,
‘which do retain the names proper to
‘them in their first institution; but yet
‘through inadvertency, where there is no
‘sinister design, may vary in their cir-
‘cumstances from their first institution.
‘And if by means of any ancient de-
‘fection, or of that general corruption
‘of the service of God, and interruption
‘of his true worship, and persecution of
‘his servants by the antichristian bishop
‘of *Rome*, for many generations; those

' who do consult the word of God, can-
 ' not yet arrive at a full and mutual sa-
 ' tisfaction among themselves, what was
 ' the practice of the primitive Christian
 ' Church, in some points relating to the
 ' *worship* of God : Yet inasmuch as these
 ' things are not of the essence of christi-
 ' anity, but that we agree in the funda-
 ' mental doctrines thereof; we do appre-
 ' hend, there is sufficient ground to lay
 ' aside all bitterness and prejudice, and in
 ' the spirit of love and meekness, to em-
 ' brace and own each other therein; leav-
 ' ing each other at liberty to perform
 ' such other services, wherein we cannot
 ' concur, apart unto God, according to
 ' the best of our understanding.'

THE great increase of the *Baptists*, and
 the many converts gained by the force of
 their arguments and the exemplariness of
 their lives, brought upon them many cla-
 mours and defamations; the chiefs were
 represented as Jesuits, Hereticks, and what
 not; many books were published, mis-
 representing them.

THIS necessitated them to publish ma-
 ny Confessions of Faith; some in vindica-
 tion of particular churches, others of par-
 ticular persons, too numerous to be taken
 notice of in this history. I shall confine
 myself only to such as were put forth by
 congregated bodies. And as I have before

ob-

observed, the *Baptists* in general consist of two parties, distinguished by the title of *general* and *particular* ; so I find when the one have published a general Confession of their Faith, the other have soon after likewise done the same ; both which I shall place in order of time, that so a just estimation of their principles, and their near coherence with the other Protestant parties in this kingdom may appear. This seems to me the best and only method to answer the many misrepresentations which have been published by their ill-natured opponents, both of their principles and practices.

IN the year 1678, a Confession of Faith was agreed to, and signed, by fifty-four ministers and messengers of the churches, in the several counties of *Bucks, Hertford, Bedford and Oxford*, in behalf of themselves and many others ; containing fifty articles, which they did most heartily and unfeignedly own, believe and profess, and desired through the grace of God to persevere in. It was soon after published under the title of, *An Orthodox Creed ; or, a Protestant Confession of Faith ; being an Essay to unite and confirm all true Protestants in the fundamental articles of the Christian Religion, against the Errors and Heresies of the Church of Rome*. But the same being too long to be contained in the Appendix
of

of this Volume, I shall place it in the Appendix of Vol. III. N^o. I.

THE *Popish* plot * having fixed a brand of infamy and ingratitude on the whole body of the *Roman Catholicks*; the courtiers attempted to relieve them, by setting on foot a *Sham Protestant Plot*, and fathering it upon the *Presbyterians*. For this purpose mercenary spies were employed to bring news from all parts of the town, which was then full of cabals. At length a plot was formed by one *Dangerfield*, a subtle and dangerous *Papist*, but a very villain. Who when he had informed the King and Duke of *York*, That he had been invited to accept of a commission; that a new form of government was to be set up; and that the King and Royal Family were to be banished; the story was received with such pleasure, that he had a present, and a pension of three pounds a week, to carry on his correspondence. But in the end finding himself undone, if he persisted in what he could not support, made an ample confession of the whole matter: And published a Narrative, wherein he testified; That he was employed by the *Popish* party, and chiefly by the *Popish* Lords in the Tower, with the Countess of Powis, to invent the *Meal-tub-plot*, which was to have

* *Neal*, Vol. IV. p. 488.

thrown the Popish Plot wholly upon the Presbyterians.

THE last Parliament being dissolved abruptly, a new one was called this year: In which the elections went pretty much as before; the cry of the people, being, *no popery, no pensioners, no arbitrary government.* But the King prorogued them from time to time, for above a year, without permitting them to do business. The confusion of the times brought the Parliament to an inclination to relieve the *Nonconformists*: And they appointed a committee, who agreed upon a *comprehension* with the *Dissenters*; and those that could not be comprehended within their terms, were to have a *toleration* and freedom from the penal Statutes, upon condition of subscribing a declaration of allegiance, &c. and of assembling with open doors. Bishop *Burnet* says *, there was a bill of comprehension offered by the Episcopal Party in the House of Commons, by which the *Presbyterians* would have been taken into the church; but that to the amazement of all people, their party in the house did not seem concerned to promote it, but on the contrary neglected it. Mr. *Neal* says †, the reason was, because they found the bill would not

Anno
1680.

* Vol. I. p. 495.

† Vol. IV. p. 496.

go ; or that if it had passed the Commons, it would have been thrown out by the Bishops in the House of Lords ; the Clergy, as *Kennet* says, *being no farther in earnest, than as they apprehended, the knife of the Papists at their throats.*

BUT while the Parliament, says Mr. *Neal* *, was endeavouring to relieve the *Dissenters*, and charging the miseries of the kingdom upon the *Papists* ; many of the Bishops and Clergy of the Church of *England*, were pleased to see the Court enclined to prosecute the *Nonconformists*.

Rapin † represents the clergy in general, at this time, as attached to the Court and the interest of the Duke of *York* ; and considers this as the occasion of the *Dissenters* charging the Church of *England* with being *popishly* inclined. He adds, that in the disposition of the Court in favour of the *Papists*, ever since the beginning of this reign, or at least ever since the Earl of *Clarendon's* disgrace, it may easily be imagined, that care had been taken, to introduce among the clergy, men of a doubtful religion, and from whom the Court had nothing to fear. And it is certain that even some of the better sort who wrote against *Popery*, went so far into the court measures, as to charge the calamities of the times upon

* Vol. IV. p. 499.

† Vol. II. p. 718.

the *Nonconformists*, and to raise the cry of the populace against them. Dr. *Edward Stillingfleet*, who had wrote an *Irenicum* in favour of liberty, and against *impositions*, now turned about; and in his sermon before the Lord-Mayor, May 2. intitled, *The Mischief of Separation*, condemned all the *Dissenters* as *Schismaticks*, and very gravely advised them not to complain of persecution. When the sermon was published, it brought upon the Doctor, says Mr. *Neal*, several learned adversaries; as Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Alsop*, Mr. *Howe*, Mr. *Barrett*, and Dr. *Owen*. From which last Divine, who wrote with great temper and seriousness, I will venture, says he, to transcribe the following passage, without entering into the argument *.

‘ After so many of the *Nonconformists*
 ‘ have died in common goals; so many
 ‘ have endured long imprisonments, not a
 ‘ few being at this day in the same du-
 ‘ rance; so many driven from their ha-
 ‘ bitations into a wandering condition,
 ‘ to preserve for a while the liberty
 ‘ of their persons; so many have been
 ‘ reduced to want and penury by the
 ‘ taking away their goods, and from some
 ‘ the very instruments of their livelihood;
 ‘ after the prosecution that has been a-
 ‘ gainst them in all Courts of Justice in

* Vol. IV. p. 500.

‘ this nation, on informations, indict-
 ‘ ments and suits, to the great charge of
 ‘ all who have been so persecuted, and
 ‘ the ruin of some ; after so many mini-
 ‘ sters and their families have been brought
 ‘ into the utmost outward straits, which
 ‘ nature can subsist under ; after all their
 ‘ perpetual fears and dangers, wherewith
 ‘ they have been exercised and disquiet-
 ‘ ed : They think it hard to be censured
 ‘ for *complaining*, by them who are at
 ‘ ease.’

Anno
1681.

THE King having parted with his last Parliament in displeasure *, without being able to obtain any money, resolved once more to try a new one : And apprehending that the malcontents were encouraged by the neighbourhood of the city of *London*, he summoned them to meet at *Oxford*. The members for *London* being the same as before, had a paper put into their hands, by four merchants, in the name of all the citizens then assembled in common-hall ; containing a return of their most hearty thanks, for their faithful and unwearied endeavours in the two last Parliaments, to search into the depth of the *Popish* Plot, to preserve the *Protestant* Religion, to promote an Union among his Majesty’s *Protestant* subjects, to repeal

* *Neal*, Vol. IV. p. 501.

the 35th of *Elizabeth*, and the *Corporation Act*, and to promote the *Bill of Exclusion*; and requesting their continuance of the same. The members being afraid of violence, were attended to *Oxford* with a numerous body of horse, having ribbons in their hats, with these words, *No popery, no slavery*; the citizens having promised to stand by them with their lives and fortunes. The Parliament revived the *Bill of Exclusion*. Upon which the King went suddenly, and not very decently, says *Burnet* *, to the House of Lords in a *sedan*, with the crown between his feet; and having put on his robes in haste, called up the Commons, and dissolved his fifth and last Parliament, after they had sat but seven days. As soon as his Majesty got out of the house, he rid away in all haste to *Windsor*, as one that was glad he had got rid of his Parliament, which was the last he called, tho' he lived three or four years after. And here was an end of the constitution and liberties of *England* for the present; all that followed, to the King's death, was no more than the convulsions and struggles of a dying man.

THE abject and servile flattery of the University of *Cambridge*, and others, in their addresses to the King, being not

* Vol. II. p. 499.

joined by the *Nonconformists*, did necessarily bring down vengeance upon them, who were now doomed to suffer under a double character, as *Whigs* and as *Dissenters*. Witnesses were brought over from *Ireland* *, and employed to swear away men's lives. Spies were planted in all Coffee-houses to furnish out evidence for the witnesses. Mercenary Justices were put into commission all over the kingdom; juries were packed. And with regard to the *Nonconformists*, informers of the vilest of the people, were countenanced to a shameful degree; insomuch that the goals were quickly filled with prisoners; and large sums of money extorted from the industry and labour of honest men, and put into the hands of the most profligate wretches in the nation.

THE Justices of *Middlesex* shewed great forwardness, and represented to his Majesty, that an intimation of his pleasure was necessary at this time, to the putting the laws in execution against *Conventicles* †; because when a charge was lately given at the Council-board, to put the laws in execution against *Popish Recusants*, no mention was made of suppressing *Conventicles*. Upon this, his Majesty commanded the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Justices, to use their utmost en-

* *Burnet*, p. 501, 505, 506.

† *Neal*, Vol. IV. p. 507.

deavour to suppress all *Conventicles* and unlawful meetings, upon pretence of religious worship; for it was his express pleasure, that the laws be effectually put in execution against them, both in city and country.

IT was not in the power of the moderate Churchmen to relieve the *Nonconformists*, nor deliver them from the edge of the penal laws, which were in the hands of their enemies. All that could be done, says Mr. Neal *, was to encourage their constancy, and to write some compassionate treatises, to move the people in their favour, by shewing them, that while they were plundering and destroying their Protestant dissenting neighbours, they were cutting the throat of the whole reformed religion, and making way for the triumphs of *Popery* upon its ruins. Among other writings of this sort, the most famous was, *The Conformists Plea for the Nonconformists*, in four parts; by a beneficed Minister, and a regular son of the Church of England. In which the Author undertakes to shew. 1. The greatness of their sufferings. 2. The hardness of their case. 3. The reasonableness and equity of their proposals for union. 4. The qualification and worth of their ministers. 5. Their peaceable behaviour. 6. Their

* Vol. IV. p. 508.

agreement with the Church of *England* in the articles of her faith. 7. The prejudice to the Church by their exclusion. And then concludes, with an account of the infamous lives and lamentable deaths, of several of the *informers*. It was, says Mr. Neal * [and, indeed, really so it is] a rational and moving performance, but had no influence on the *Tory Justices* and tribe of *informers*.

MOST of the Clergy were with the Court, and distinguished themselves on the side of persecution. The pulpits every where resounded with the doctrines of *Passive-obedience* and *Non-resistance*: A *Mahometan* principle, says Dr. *Welwood* †, which since the times of that *Impostor*, who first broached it, has been the means to enslave a great part of the world. No *Eastern* monarch, according to them, was more absolute than the King of *England*. They expressed such a zeal, says *Burnet* ‡, for the Duke's succession, as if a *Popish* King over a *Protestant* Country, had been a special blessing from heaven.

THERE was a great change made in the *Commissions* all over *England*. None were left, either on the bench, or in the militia, that did not go with zeal into the humour of the court. And such of the

* Vol. IV. p. 509.

† Memoirs, p. 112.

‡ Vol. II. p. 501.

clergy as would not engage in that fury, were declaimed against as *betrayers of the Church*, and secret favourers of the *Dissenters*. But the truth is, says the Bishop, *the number of sober honest clergymen was not great*; for where the carcase is, the eagles will be gathered together: The scent of preferment, will draw aspiring men after it.

UPON the whole, the times were very black at present, and the prospect under a *Popish* successor more threatening.

IT would fill some volumes to go into all the particulars of the unchristian proceedings that did attend the *Nonconformists*; and even too much, to attend those that have particularly concerned the *Baptists*. But I must not pass by the sufferings of some of them, who at this time bore a testimony for liberty, and sealed the same with their blood. And to do justice to the Reverend Mr. *Neal*, I must observe here, that he has treated the *Baptists*, where he has had occasion to mention them in this volume, much more like a friend, than in his former volumes.

MR. *Francis Bampffield*, was a famous *Baptist*. He was in this reign first committed to *Dorchester* goal; and a considerable fine laid upon him, for preaching, praying, and refusing to conform to the Church of *England*; in which place he was kept a *prisoner* above eight years.

Mr. Francis Bampffield imprisoned at Dorchester, and fined.

HE bore his long imprisonment with great courage and patience, being filled with the joys and comforts of the Holy Spirit. Nor did he cease to preach Christ, and promote his interest, by prayers and exhortations. And so successful was he in his labours, that he gathered a *Church* even in this place of confinement.

*After
eight years
imprison-
ment is
discharged
Anno
1675.*

*Is impri-
soned
again
at Salis-
bury, and
fined.*

*Is released
and comes
to London.*

*Hires Pin-
ners-hall.*

UPON his being discharged from hence, in the year 1675. he went up and down in several *counties*, preaching the word as he had opportunity. But it was not long before he was taken up again, for preaching to a congregation in *Wiltshire*. He was apprehended and imprisoned at *Salisbury*. A certain fine or mulct being laid upon him, he continued in *prison* about eighteen weeks. From hence he writ a *Letter to the Saints*, which was quickly printed; wherein he gave a brief account of the occasion of his imprisonment, and declared what satisfaction and joy he had in his present sufferings for the sake of Christ. After his release from hence, he came to *London*: And the heat of persecution being somewhat abated, he here enjoyed liberty for several years to preach the Gospel, tho' privately; but with such success, that in a little time he gathered a people unto Christ, who submitted to *Believers Baptism*, and soon after entered into a *Church-State*, and hired *Pinner's-hall* in *Broad-street*, for the meeting-place.

Which

Which being so publick, soon exposed them to the rage of their persecutors.

ON the 17th of *Feb.* 1682. when they were met together in the forenoon at their usual hour, Mr. *Bampffield* being in the pulpit, a Constable with his staff, and several men with halberts, rushed into the assembly. The Constable commanded him in the King's name to give over and to come down: To which he answered, that he was in the discharge of his office, in the name of the King of Kings. I have, said the Constable, a warrant from the *Lord-Mayor* to disturb your meeting. I have, says Mr. *Bampffield*, a warrant from Christ, who is *Lord Maximus*, to go on; and so did proceed in his discourse. Then the Constable commanded one of the officers to pull him down. Upon which Mr. *Bampffield* repeated his text; the latter part of which was, *The day of vengeance is in his heart, and the year of the redeemed ones is come, and he would pull down his enemies.* After they had seized Mr. *Bampffield*, they carried him and six more before the *Lord-Mayor*. When the Constable had given an account to his Lordship, of the occasion of his bringing these men before him; the *Lord-Mayor* examined him first, and afterwards the other six; after several of them were fined ten pounds a man, were bid to de-

Anno
1682.

Isa. lxii.

*Is taken
from hence
with six
more, and
had before
the Lord-
Mayor.*

*Some since
101.*

part. And Mr. *Bampffield*, who was detained last, was soon after told he might be gone also.

IN the afternoon of the same day, they went to their meeting-place again, at the usual time of assembling. As soon as Mr. *Bampffield*, and a few with him were gotten into the place, the officer immediately came, shut the door against those that were without, and required those within to depart. But they kept their places for some time; and took this opportunity to tell the officers, of the sin and baseness of persecuting men thus for religion. This seemed to touch their consciences; for they all declared their unwillingness to meddle in such a work, but that they were by their places obliged to it.

HEREUPON one demanded of the Constable to produce his warrant for what he did, but it seems he had none; only he told them, he would send to the *Lord-Mayor* for one. At length no fresh warrant being produced, the Constable commanded one of the officers to pull Mr. *Bampffield* down from his pulpit: Who, after some time tremblingly, and with a pale face, took hold of him, and so led him out into the street, where there was a great number of people got together. The Constable not caring to proceed any farther, Mr. *Bampffield* with a great

great company went to his own house, and there performed those duties of worship, which they designed to have done in their meeting-place.

ON the 24th of the same month, they met together again at *Pinner's-hall*; but they had not long been assembled, and Mr. *Bampfild* in prayer, before another Constable with several officers rushed in upon them. Mr. *Bampfild* continued his prayer, till one of the officers came and pulled him away. Then they carried him under a guard of officers to the *Lord-Mayor*: As he went along the street, he carried his bible in his hand, exposing it to the view of the people, who flocked after him in great numbers. He endeavoured briefly to declare, practically as well as verbally, that it was for the sake of Christ and his word, that his liberty was taken away. When they came to the *Lord-Mayor*, he was gone to the Sessions; and thither now they were resolv'd to drag him. The spectators as he passed along, passed different verdicts upon him; some condemning him, others speaking in his favour. One called him a *Christian Jew*; another said, see how he walks with his bible in his hand, like one of the old Martyrs.

BEING brought to the Sessions, after examination, he and three more were sent to prison. Next day in the afternoon, he was

He is taken again, and had before the Lord-Mayor.

He with three more imprisoned.

was brought to the bar with three or four more, who were examined on the like case, and remitted to *Newgate*.

Anno
1683.

ON the 17th of *March* 1683. he with some more who were committed for not taking the oaths of *allegiance* and *supremacy*, were brought before the Sessions-Court in the *Old-Bailey*; indicted, tryed, and by the Jury, directed by the Judge so to do, brought in guilty.

March 28. they were again brought to the Sessions to receive their sentence: And when at the bar, the *Recorder*, without asking whether they would take the oaths, or whether they had any thing to offer, why sentence should not be given against them; after odiously aggravating their not taking of the oaths, and casting reflections on scrupulous consciences, read the sentence; which was: *That they were out of the protection of the King's Majesty; that all their goods and chattels were forfeited during life; that they were to remain in goal during their lives, or during the King's pleasure.*

UPON this Mr. *Bampfild* would have spoken something. But there was a great uproar, crying, *Away with them, put them away from the bar, we will not hear them.* While they were thrusting them away, Mr. *Bampfild* said, *The righteous Lord loveth righteousness, the Lord be judge in this*

this case. And then they were returned to *Newgate*, from whence they came.

MR. *Bampffield* being of a tender constitution, could not long bear the hardship to which they exposed him. He was kept at his last trial, ten hours in the *Bail-dock*, a cold and loathsome place, where he received great hurt: And soon after died in *Newgate*, very much lamented by his fellow-prisoners, as well as friends and acquaintance. *Dies in Newgate.*

ONE of whom was Dr. *John Griffith*; who published his case under his own hand: Which is as followeth, viz.

' The case of Mr. *John Griffith*, minister of the Gospel, and now prisoner in *Newgate*. Being a true and impartial account of what he spake at the *Sessions-house* in the *Old-Bailey*, on the 18th day of this instant *April* 1683. before the Lord Chief-Justice *Saunders*, and three Judges more, the Lord-Mayor, Recorder, and several Aldermen of the City of *London*. *Dr. John Griffith's case.*

' ON the day and year abovesaid, about four in the afternoon, Mr. *Bampffield* and myself were sent for by the Court; and soon after we came were both brought to the inward bar. Mr. *Bampffield* was first required to take the oath of allegiance; it being again tendered him, according to the statute in the third of King *James*. After some discourse

‘ discourse between the Judges and the
 ‘ Recorder, had with Mr. *Bampffield*, he
 ‘ refusing to swear, they made an end for
 ‘ that time with him.

‘ THE Clerk of the Peace, I took
 ‘ him to be, said unto me, Take off your
 ‘ glove. I asked him *what to do?* He an-
 ‘ swered, *to lay your hand on the book;*
 ‘ which book he had in his hand, and
 ‘ held it out unto me. I then spake with
 ‘ a loud voice, *and said*, My Lord, I
 ‘ hope you will give me the liberty to speak
 ‘ for myself in my own defence. One
 ‘ of the Judges replied, that, my friend,
 ‘ meaning Mr. *Bampffield*, had spoke for
 ‘ me, or to that effect. I said again;
 ‘ that I desired to speak for myself, for I
 ‘ had other things to offer, as my reasons
 ‘ why I could not take that oath. Hav-
 ‘ ing liberty granted, as I took it from
 ‘ their silence, I with an audible voice
 ‘ said unto them; I am in the Scripture
 ‘ commanded, when I take an oath, *to*
 ‘ *swear in truth and judgment, and in*
 ‘ *righteousness*; unto which the Church
 ‘ of *England* doth agree. It is one Article
 ‘ of their Faith, that he that taketh an
 ‘ oath, being required of the magistrate,
 ‘ ought to swear, so he do it *in truth, in*
 ‘ *righteousness, and in judgment*. Now
 ‘ for me to swear, as my duty is accord-
 ‘ ing to the Scripture, and as the Church
 ‘ of *England* directs, I cannot, should I
 ‘ take

Art. 39,
 of the
 Church of
 England.

‘ take this oath ; because I cannot know,
 ‘ but must be ignorant of, what I bind
 ‘ my soul to perform ; and then it is im-
 ‘ possible I should swear *in truth, in judg-*
 ‘ *ment, and in righteousness.*

‘ I CANNOT know, but must be ig-
 ‘ norant, both of what hereafter by law
 ‘ I may be required to do, and also to
 ‘ whom I swear to be obedient ; for it is
 ‘ not possible I should foresee what laws
 ‘ may hereafter be made : And I do not
 ‘ only bind my soul to obey the King,
 ‘ that now is, but his heirs and succes-
 ‘ sors also : And I know not what his suc-
 ‘ cessor may be ; for ought I know he
 ‘ may be a *Popish* successor, a *Papist* ;
 ‘ and I cannot swear to obey laws not
 ‘ yet in being, nor to be obedient to a *Po-*
 ‘ *pish* successor. Therefore I cannot take
 ‘ the oath of allegiance,

‘ UPON these words there was a hum
 ‘ in the court. Which being ceased, af-
 ‘ ter a little pause, one of the Judges
 ‘ made this short reply. I, saith he,
 ‘ *doth he stick in there ?* I then went on,
 ‘ and said, I cannot conform to the
 ‘ Church of *England*. Should I take this
 ‘ oath, I swear to conform ; for I am
 ‘ bound by any oath to obey all the
 ‘ King’s laws, as much those laws which
 ‘ respect the worship of God, as those
 ‘ relating to civil government : And then I
 ‘ am sworn to hear Common-prayer once

‘ a month. Here one of the Judges said,
 ‘ *so you are*; and to receive the Sacra-
 ‘ ment with the Church of *England*, as oft
 ‘ as the law requires; yea, and to conform
 ‘ to all the rites and ceremonies of the
 ‘ said Church. To this it was answered,
 ‘ *so you are*; and not to frequent private
 ‘ meetings any more, for there are laws
 ‘ that forbid it. It was again answered,
 ‘ *so you are*.

‘ THEREFORE I cannot take this
 ‘ oath.

‘ I THEN prayed the Judges to give
 ‘ me all their opinions, whether it were
 ‘ as I had said or not. They answered
 ‘ with one consent, as one man, that it
 ‘ was as I had said, *viz.* that I did, in
 ‘ taking the oath, swear to obey all the
 ‘ King’s laws without exception. Then
 ‘ I returned them thanks, that they were
 ‘ pleased to give me their opinion and judg-
 ‘ ment in the case. And withal added
 ‘ these words: I am well satisfied and
 ‘ settled in my religion; and the more
 ‘ confirmed by what you said: And if it be
 ‘ so, do with me what you please: Come
 ‘ life, come death, the Lord assisting me,
 ‘ I will never take the oath of allegiance.

‘ THEN I desired to speak a few
 ‘ words more. Which being not denied,
 ‘ I said; Be it known unto you, that I
 ‘ do not refuse to take the oath of alle-
 ‘ giance in any dislike I have of any thing

‘ con-

‘ contained therein against the authority
‘ of the Pope, or the see of *Rome* ; but
‘ do in all points therein with you agree.
‘ And further I do declare, that I do be-
‘ lieve the Pope hath no power, nor au-
‘ thority over the King’s person, nor his
‘ government ; no, nor over the meanest
‘ subject in his kingdom. And do yet
‘ further declare ; that I believe in my
‘ conscience, popery to be idolatrous,
‘ damnable and devilish. I was then had
‘ back again to the *Press-yard*, where
‘ I remain the Lord’s prisoner ; and am
‘ ready further to bear my testimony for
‘ him, against Antichrist, the Pope, and
‘ See of *Rome* ; and for his Holy Word,
‘ the purity of the Gospel, and the or-
‘ dinances thereof, against *Popish* darkness,
‘ filthy idolatries, fornications, blasphe-
‘ mies, and abominations, and all tradi-
‘ tions of men ; as one made willing,
‘ through the free mercy and rich grace
‘ of God, my heavenly father, to forsake
‘ all for Christ, who hath loved me, and
‘ given himself for me ; not counting
‘ my life dear to myself, so I may finish
‘ my course with joy, and the ministry
‘ I have received of the Lord *Jesus*, to
‘ testify the Gospel of the grace of God.
‘ Thus have I given an account of what
‘ I spake, and was said to me, to the
‘ very best of my memory, though it
‘ may be not word for word. Yet for
‘ the

‘ the substance of what was spoke, it is
‘ true.’

John Griffith.

Mr. Thomas Delaune.

NOT long after this, the famous and learned Mr. *Thomas Delaune*, fell a sacrifice to the rage and malice of the persecuting clergy of those times; and by imprisonment lost his life.

HE was born at *Brini* in *Ireland*, about three miles from *Riggisdale*. His parents were *Papists* and very poor; they rented a part of the estate of — *Riggs*, Esq; who observing the early and forward parts of young *Delaune*, placed him in a Friary at *Kilcrash*, about seven miles distant from *Cork*, where he received his education. When Mr. *Delaune* was about fifteen or sixteen years of age, he left the Friary and went to *Kingale*, where he met with Mr. *Bampfild*, who then had a pilchard fishery in that place. He finding Mr. *Delaune* to be a young man of good parts and learning, took him into his service, and made him clerk of the fishery, and became the happy instrument of his conversion. He continued some years in great esteem and intimacy with Major *Riggs* and Mr. *Bampfild*; till thro’ persecution and troubles he left *Ireland*, and went over to *England*. Meeting there with Mr. *Edward Hutchinson*, who was pastor of a congregation at *Ormond*,
but

but removed from thence on account of the troubles of the times, at length married his daughter *Hannah*, and went with her to *London*, where he fell into an intimacy and strict friendship with Mr. *Benjamin Keach*, and translated the *Philologia Sacra*, prefixed to his elaborate book in Folio, intitled, ΤΡΟΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ, *A Key to open Scripture Metaphors*, much esteemed by the learned.

THE occasion of Mr. *Delaune's* last sufferings was this; Dr. *Benjamin Calamy*, one of the King's Chaplains, having published the *London Cases*, Mr. *Delaune* wrote an answer to one of them. For which he was apprehended, and committed to prison; where the straitness of his confinement cast him into a distemper of which he soon died. And tho' the Doctor in his cases pretended himself very desirous of an answer, he never made the least attempt to get him released; but suffered him to be persecuted with all imaginable violence, tho' he answered him so modestly, so like a Gentleman, and so like a scholar!

THUS, says Mr. *Pierce*, ' the champions of the church secured themselves from being attacked by the *Nonconformists*; and wrote, when they could not be answered, with either conveniency or safety. For the persecuted condition of the *Nonconformists* deprived them of leisure
Vindication of the Dissenters, P. 259;
sure

‘ sure for writing; and if they wrote,
 ‘ they brought upon themselves fresh
 ‘ troubles and persecutions.’ I would not
 be thought by any means, to reflect upon
 the Church of *England*, nor its *professors*
 in the present day, for actions committed
 by their *predecessors*. Facts are like the
 laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, not to be
 obliterated; but according as they are
 good or bad, to stand upon *record*, for
 our imitation, or avoiding. I ever had a
 great value for the Church of *England*,
 tho’ in conscience I could not conform to
 all her requirements; and have always
 esteemed it as the best constituted reformed
 national church in the world.

P. 5.

’Tis known and professed, says the
Author of the preface to the *Plea* of the
 learned Gentleman now before me; ‘ That
 ‘ persecution merely for conscience is con-
 ‘ trary to the principles of the Christian
 ‘ Religion, and the doctrine of the Church
 ‘ of *England*. Who they were that per-
 ‘ secuted in those days, we all know,
 ‘ and with what real design: To destroy
 ‘ the church of *England* itself, is plain.
 ‘ How they acted all against the very
 ‘ principles of the church is plain. But
 ‘ that they acted under the church’s au-
 ‘ thority, in her name, debauched her
 ‘ Clergy, to fall in with the hellish pro-
 ‘ ject; made use of her ecclesiastical
 ‘ Courts to put their wicked designs in
 ‘ execu-

‘ execution, till the world could hardly
‘ discover whether it was the Church’s
‘ act and deed, or no, to the indelible
‘ scandal of the Clergy of those times;
‘ is a truth too plain to be debated.’

MR. *Delaune* was apprehended Nov.
29. 1683. and by Sir *Thomas Jenner*,
Recorder of *London*, committed to *Wood-*
street-Compter, and put in amongst the
common-side prisoners, where he had a hard
bench for his bed, and two bricks for his
pillows. He was removed from thence
by the Recorder’s warrant, committed to
Newgate, and lodged amongst *felons*.
Whose horrid company, says he, in his
letter to Dr. *Calamy*, made a perfect re-
presentation of that horrible place, which
you describe when you mention hell.

Sent to
Wood-
street-
Compter,
and re-
moved to
Newgate.

IN another letter to Dr. *Calamy*, he ex-
presses himself thus :

‘ I HAVE no malignity against any
‘ person whatsoever ; much less a-
‘ gainst your church, or any of its mem-
‘ bers. All I desire is, that scrupulous
‘ consciences, who trouble not the peace
‘ of the nation, should be dealt withal,
‘ at least, as weak brethren, according to
‘ *Rom. xiv. 1.* and not ruined by penal-
‘ ties, for not swallowing what is impos-
‘ ed, under the notion of *decency* and *or-*
‘ *der*, tho’ excentrick to the scheme, we
‘ have of it, in our only rule of faith.

Narra-
tive of Mr.
Delaune’s
sufferings,
p. 119.
His letter
to Dr. Ca-
lamy.

‘ Sir, I entreat you to excuse this
 ‘ trouble from a stranger, who would
 ‘ fain be convinced by something more
 ‘ like *Divinity* than *Newgate*; where any
 ‘ message from you, shall be welcome to

‘ Your Humble Servant,

‘ Thomas Delaune.

To this letter, in which are many things worthy of notice, but too long to be transcribed here, he received an answer to this effect: That if he had been imprison’d upon the account of answering his book, he would do him any kindness that became him.

BUT how well the *Doct̃or* performed his promise, will appear in the sequel.

SOME days passing, and Mr. *Delaune* hearing nothing from the *Doct̃or*, sent him the following letter, written in *Latin*, but translated thus:

Ibidem, p.
121.

Jan. 9. 1683.

‘ Reverend Sir,

Another
letter to
Dr. Calamy.

‘ WHAT you once and again
 ‘ preached, and then printed,
 ‘ respecting a doubtful conscience, has
 ‘ loudly enough called all such as were
 ‘ dissatisfied about some rites and ceremonies, to examine the reasons on both
 ‘ sides.

‘ OTHERS

‘ OTHERS being silent, I obeyed you
 ‘ in that particular; not merely to wrangle,
 ‘ for the encounter is unequal, betwixt a
 ‘ man so eminent as you are, and so mean
 ‘ a person as I am; but that an occasion
 ‘ may be given, in compliance to what
 ‘ you desired, to conclude controversies of
 ‘ this nature.

‘ IF merely for such obedience I must
 ‘ be punished, I know not how, nor in
 ‘ what manner; is there not a new way
 ‘ of conquering [scrupulous consciences]
 ‘ unheard of in the Holy Scriptures, start-
 ‘ ed by some certain ring-leaders?

‘ I PURPOSED, from Holy Writ and
 ‘ approved writers, to examine what we
 ‘ ought to judge of these things. From
 ‘ that *light of our paths*, and from that
 ‘ *lanthorn*, *Psal. cxix. 105.* I gathered
 ‘ some reasons against those various and
 ‘ multiplied errors, which have crept into
 ‘ the church. For that only thing am I
 ‘ brought to a *prison*, where there is no-
 ‘ thing amiable.

‘ WHETHER arguments of that kind
 ‘ will prevail to prove the suppositions in
 ‘ your sermon, let the Supreme Judge
 ‘ determine.

‘ OR whether any of the doubting per-
 ‘ sons can that way be compelled into the
 ‘ spiritual sheepfold, judge you: There is
 ‘ nothing against the King’s Majesty, no-
 ‘ thing about the Civil Government, no-

‘ thing against the peace of this monarchy there asserted.

‘ THE only dispute is about the original of rites and ceremonies, and some things, which under a shew of truths, though not righteously, are charged on doubting persons. What the court will do with me, I know not: The will of the Supreme Father be done. Inward and outward peace in this, and everlasting peace in the world [to come] to all such as worship the Saviour of mankind, according to his word, is prayed for by

‘ *Thomas Delaune.*

‘ I DESIRE you to return me some answer, becoming a Divine, by my beloved wife, as you have promised.’

To this letter he answered by word of mouth to his wife, for he gave none in writing: That he looked on himself unconcerned, as not being mentioned in the sheet he saw with the *Recorder*. To satisfy which doubt, Mr. *Delaune* sent him another letter, with the first sheet of the book he was imprisoned for. Which was a plain demonstration, that it was an answer to his call. The letter was thus:

Jan.

Jan. 14. 1683.

SIR,

WHEREAS in answer to my *Another letter to Dr. Calamy.*
two letters, you said to my wife,
that my papers no way concerned you,
viz. such as I am indicted for: To satisfy you with respect to that matter, I here send you the first sheet; and leave you to consider, whether in pure generosity, you are not obliged to procure a *prisoner* (whose obedience to you made him so) his liberty.

I am, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

Thomas Delaune.

I APPEAL to your conscience, says Mr. Delaune, whether I had not some reason to expect some return to these applications?

BUT I had none to any purpose: And that too but in few words by my wife. I had some thoughts, that you would have performed the office of a *Divine*, in *visiting* me in my place of confinement; either to argue me out of my doubts, which your promised *Scripture and Reason*, not a *Mittimus* or *Newgate*, could easily do. To the *former* I can yield. — To the

‘ *latter* it seems I must. — This is a
 ‘ severe kind of *logick*; and will pro-
 ‘ bably dispute me out of this world,
 ‘ as it did Mr. *Bampfild* and Mr.
 ‘ *Ralphson* lately; who were my dear
 ‘ and excellent companions in trouble.’

ON the 10th of *Dec.* a Bill was found against him by the *Grand Jury* of *London*; And on the 13th day, he was called to the *Sessions-House* in the *Old-Bailley*; and his indictment was read, to which he pleaded, not guilty.

IN *January*, he was with Mr. *Bampfild*, and Mr. *Ralphson*, called again to the *Sessions-House*. But there being some trials that proved very tedious, theirs were not brought on at that time; but on the next day they were called to the outer bar; ‘ after the attendance, says Mr. *Delaune*, ‘ of divers hours, in a place not very ‘ lovely, and in the sharpest winter that ‘ you have known; which it is likely ‘ proved the original of that indisposition, ‘ which carried my two friends beyond ‘ the jurisdiction of *Sessions*, *Bail-docks*, or ‘ *Press-yards*, to a glorious mansion of ‘ rest.’

MR. *Ralphson* was tried first, Mr. *Delaune* next. He desired his indictment might be read in *Latin*; which was done. The Gentlemen of the Law aggravated things in their usual rhetorick. One of them

them was pleased to say, that the prisoner that stood there before, did labour to undermine the *State*; and this man would undermine the *Church*. So that, to incense the Jury, he said, here's *Church* and *State* struck at. A thing very improbable. For as Mr. *Delaune* himself observed, ' 'Tis wonderful, that any *Church* and *State* so potent as this, should fear two such underminers, as that extravagant harangue termed us.' In the end, he was found guilty: And the next day received his sentence. Which he has recorded as follows:

Whom Mr. Delaune thought to be the Attorney-General.

' *Thomas Delaune* fined 100 marks, and to be kept prisoner, &c. [which, &c. they interpret till he pay his fine] and to find good security for his good behaviour for one whole year afterwards; and that the said books and seditious libels, by him published, shall be burnt with * fire, before the *Royal-Exchange* in *London*; and if he be discharged, to pay † six shillings.

His sentence.

' Signed, *Wagstaff*.'

THE book which this learned Gentleman wrote, and for which he so severely suffered, is entitled, *A Plea for the Non-conformists*. The Gentleman who prefixed a preface thereto; says,

* ' Not with water you must note.

† ' To the Hangman, for the faggots, I suppose.

Remarks
on Mr.
Delaune's
sufferings.

‘ THIS book has been printed at least
‘ seventeen times. And without doubt,
‘ if the adversaries of the *Dissenters* were
‘ for coming to the test, either of Scrip-
‘ ture, reason or antiquity, it would be-
‘ fore now have received some answer.

‘ ’TIS one of there own challenges ac-
‘ cepted. The reasons for our dissenting
‘ are fairly, modestly, and closely appli-
‘ ed. If saying nothing be taken *pro*
‘ *Confesso*, the Gentlemen of the Church
‘ of *England* would do well to consider
‘ of some *mediums*, to defend Dr. *Calamy*,
‘ or ingenuously own he was fairly con-
‘ futed.

‘ THERE remains nothing to be add-
‘ ed to the argument, till some attempts
‘ to confute them shall make a rejoinder
‘ necessary: Nor, indeed, can the *Diss-*
‘ *senters* desire to have their case more
‘ fairly stated, or the conduct of their
‘ adversaries be more concurring to their
‘ justification.

‘ WHEN arguments drive the oppo-
‘ nents into passions and excesses, like
‘ strong purges; ’tis a proof of their ope-
‘ ration, that they cause griping pains, in
‘ the very bowels of the patient.

‘ To answer sober arguments, with
‘ four coercives, to dispute by the *goal*
‘ and the *hangman*, to debate by the pri-
‘ son and not by the pen; these have been
‘ the peculiar of the party: And the
‘ power

power of persecution, not of persuasion,
has been the way of their usage to the
Dissenters.

THE treatment the reverend and
learned *Author* of this book met with,
will for ever stand as a monument of
the cruelty of those times. And they
that affirm the *Dissenters* were never
persecuted in *England* for their religi-
on, will do well to tell us, what name
we shall give to the usage of this man
of merit; than whom few greater scho-
lars, clearer heads, or greater masters
of arguments, ever graced the *English*
nation.

I AM sorry to say, he is *one* of near
eight thousand Protestant Dissenters, that
perished in prison, in the days of that
merciful Prince, King *Charles II.* and
that merely for dissenting from the
church, in points, which they could
give such reasons for, as this Plea as-
signs; and for no other cause were
stifled, I had almost said murdered, in
goals, for their Religion, in the days of
these Gentlemen's power, who pretend
to abhor persecution.

THE same *Author* declares, that he
cannot conclude his preface, without giv-
ing the world the rest of the history of
this Gentleman, which it was impossible
for him to give of himself.

HIS

P. II.

‘ His sentence, says he, as the Reader
 ‘ will find in his book, was a hundred
 ‘ marks; the expensive prosecution, depriv-
 ‘ ing him of his livelihood, which was a
 ‘ Grammar-School, and long imprison-
 ‘ ment, had made him not only unable
 ‘ to pay his fine, but unable to subsist
 ‘ himself and his family.

‘ He continued in close confinement,
 ‘ in the *prison* of *Newgate*, about *fifteen*
 ‘ months; and suffered there great hard-
 ‘ ships by extreme poverty; being so en-
 ‘ tirely reduced by this disaster, that he
 ‘ had no subsistence, but what was con-
 ‘ tributed by such friends as came to visit
 ‘ him.

‘ His behaviour in this distress was
 ‘ like the greatness of mind, he discover-
 ‘ ed at his trial. And the same spirit
 ‘ which appears in his writings, appeared
 ‘ in his conversation, and supported him
 ‘ with invincible patience under the great-
 ‘ est extremities. But long confinement
 ‘ and distresses of various kinds, at last
 ‘ conquered him. He had a wife and
 ‘ two small children, all with him in the
 ‘ prison; for they had no subsistence else-
 ‘ where. The closeness and inconveni-
 ‘ encies of the place first affected them; and
 ‘ all *three* by lingering sorrows and sick-
 ‘ ness, *died* in the *prison*. At last worn
 ‘ out with trouble, and hopeless of relief,
 ‘ and too much abandoned by those,
 ‘ who

‘ who should have taken some other care
 ‘ of him, this excellent person, sunk un-
 ‘ der the burden, and died there also.
 ‘ I cannot refrain saying, such a *Cham-*
 ‘ *pion* of such a *cause*, deserved better u-
 ‘ sage. And it was very hard, such a
 ‘ Man, such a Christian, such a Scholar,
 ‘ and on such an occasion, should starve in
 ‘ a *dungeon*; and the whole body of *Dis-*
 ‘ *senters* in *England*, whose cause he died
 ‘ for defending, should not raise him 66 l.
 ‘ 13 s. 4 d. to save his life.’

THE opinion this *Author* had of this book, is summed up in a few words.

‘ The book, says he, is perfect of itself.
 ‘ Never *Author* left behind him a more
 ‘ finished piece; and I believe the dis-
 ‘ pute is entirely ended. If any man ask
 ‘ what we can say, why the *Dissenters*
 ‘ differ from the Church of *England*,
 ‘ and what they can plead for it? I can
 ‘ recommend no better reply than this.
 ‘ Let them answer, in short, *Thomas*
 ‘ *Delaune*; and desire the Querist to read
 ‘ the book.’

IT was about this time, it pleased God to shew his displeasure against Apostacy, by pouring forth the vials of his wrath upon one Mr. *John Child*, a preacher of long standing among the *Baptists*. The Authors of the Narrative, intituled, *The Mis-*
chief of Persecution exemplified, by a true
Narrative of the life and deplorable end of
Mr.

John
 Child's
 Apostacy.

Mr. John Child, *who miserably destroyed himself*, Oct. 13. 1684. which was published in the year 1688. in the Postscript annexed thereunto, declare: ‘ That
 ‘ it is a true and dreadful instance of a
 ‘ man scared into conformity, by the severity he saw on others, and in part felt
 ‘ himself; that the temptation met with
 ‘ his corruptions, which if his own
 ‘ charge on himself be not too severe;
 ‘ you see verified by his own papers.
 ‘ Yet this, say they, excuseth not the
 ‘ doctrine and practice of persecution: If
 ‘ so, Satan might wash his hands also of
 ‘ the sins of men. And tho’ some men
 ‘ may know the beginnings of sin, yet
 ‘ none knows the bounds of it. So after
 ‘ his conformity, he drew his pen,
 ‘ and dipt it in gall against his brethren;
 ‘ going on to do violence to his conscience,
 ‘ till God in a dreadful manner awakened
 ‘ it against himself, so as proved terrible
 ‘ to all the beholders, as well as to himself.—We account it a loud
 ‘ voice against persecution; and durst not
 ‘ silence it, lest we should betray this
 ‘ witness of God against it. We know
 ‘ authorities of scripture and reason are
 ‘ best to work upon the judgment, to
 ‘ convince the world of the error of doing
 ‘ that to others, that would not they
 ‘ should do to them. But a fact of this
 ‘ nature may move the affections, and
 ‘ cor-

‘ corroborate that light, that men receive
‘ from thence : And for this end it was
‘ at first intended to be published. It’s
‘ a dreadful thing, not only to break in
‘ upon the civil rights of men, on account
‘ of religion ; but far more to be instru-
‘ ments, to put any upon such ways,
‘ which not only endanger their peace of
‘ conscience here, but their eternal wel-
‘ fare hereafter. And this evil we are
‘ bold to charge persecution with, and
‘ have evidence enough for it in this
‘ very instance.

‘ WE hope, say they, we may with-
‘ out vanity say, that it’s written with a
‘ temper suitable to the profession we
‘ have always made, of love and charity
‘ to those that differ from us. And tho’
‘ the face of affairs in this nation be since
‘ changed, thro’ the goodness of God, and
‘ the gracious favour of his Majesty towards
‘ us ; we purpose in all our actings to shew
‘ the same spirit and temper towards all
‘ Christians, of what persuasion soever.
‘ And we would by no means have this
‘ construction pass upon the publication
‘ of this *Narrative* at this time, as if we
‘ designed to make the Church of *Eng-
‘ land* odious, by refreshing the memory
‘ of so dreadful an accident, which was
‘ the natural effect of some of their per-
‘ secutions. God is our witness, say they,
‘ our naked design being only to arraign
‘ the

‘ the practice of persecution itself, without reflecting on any, who have been the instruments; hoping time, and this glorious design of his Majesty, will have such an happy issue, as to put all that profess to be the followers of Christ, into such a condition, as to see it is their interest, as well as their duty, not to contend for persecution.’

Golden
Mine, p.
48.

THIS Mr. *John Child* was a man of some considerable substance, good natural parts and ability, being much followed wherever he preached, both in the city and country; and so conceited of his abilities, that he feared not to dispute with any man. ‘ In his judgment, says Mr. *Benjamin Keach*, he was a *Baptist*, being against infant’s baptism, and for the baptism of believers. For many years he lived in *Buckinghamshire*, near me, I being intimately acquainted with him for near thirty years. But a little before the last persecution of *Dissenters*, he removed his dwelling and came to *London*, and lived near to my habitation in *Paul’s, Shadwell*. Now the first time I came to feat him, was thro’ some words he uttered to me, which was to this effect. *I have*, said he, *seriously considered, whether there be any thing in religion worth suffering for*. Which words I wondred at from such-a-one as he. But soon after he conformed,

‘ (trou-

‘ (troubles rising high) and then wrote a
‘ cursed book, rendring the *Dissenters*, e-
‘ specially the *Baptists*, very odious; cast-
‘ ing reproaches upon their faithful mini-
‘ sters, because some of them were not
‘ learned men, I mean with the knowledge
‘ of the tongues. And quickly after this,
‘ he fell under fearful desperation. I
‘ was one of the first men that he sent
‘ for; and I found him in a dismal state
‘ and condition; being filled with horror,
‘ saying, *he was damned*; and crying out
‘ against himself, for writing that book;
‘ saying, *he had touched the apple of God’s*
‘ *eye*. I said all I was well capable to
‘ speak, to comfort him; but all in vain.
‘ ----- His poor wife, as I remember,
‘ intimated to me, that the very ends of
‘ the hair of his head, in the night-sea-
‘ son, did stand in drops, thro’ the an-
‘ guish of his soul.

‘ THUS he continued, says Mr. *Keach*,
‘ for several months, under most dreadful
‘ horror and fearful desperation, until
‘ *October 13. 1684.* when to put an end
‘ to his miserable life, he hanged himself,
‘ in his own hired house in *Brick-lane*,
‘ near *Spittlefields, London*, leaving a for-
‘ rowful widow and several children.’
And farther adds: ‘ I am of opinion, that
‘ if any *Atheist* in the world, who had
‘ formerly known this man, had conver-
‘ sed with him in his bitter agonies, he
‘ would

‘ would have seen sufficient demonstra-
 ‘ tions to have convinced him, that there
 ‘ is a dreadful God, or a power besides
 ‘ and above nature, who can touch,
 ‘ shake and disorder, and turn into con-
 ‘ fusion, the strongest constitution of bo-
 ‘ dy, by ministring and fastning terrible
 ‘ things upon the soul. And, as he saith,
 ‘ let this *Pillar of Salt*, tend to warn and
 ‘ season the people of this present and
 ‘ future ages, of the danger of sinning
 ‘ against the light of their understanding.’

THE book Mr. Child published after his conformity to the Church of *England*, which did afterwards fill him with so great horror of soul, bore the title of as charitable an argument, as could be undertaken by the best of Christians: viz. *A second Argument, for a more full and firm union amongst all good Protestants.*

‘ BUT though in this title, says Mr. Plant and Mr. Dennis, the Authors of the *Narrative*, ‘ his words were as the
 ‘ *Pfalmist* speaks, *Softer than oil; yet*
 ‘ *were they drawn swords.* He put forth
 ‘ his hand against such as were at peace
 ‘ with him, his equals, his acquaintance,
 ‘ who had walked with him to the house
 ‘ of God in company. The sense where-
 ‘ of, when he was awakened to see, and
 ‘ feel in his own conscience the heinous-
 ‘ ness of his crime, in slandering his bre-
 ‘ thren, did so terrify him, that it could
 ‘ not

‘not be discerned, (either by his relations
 ‘or any of those many of his brethren
 ‘whom he had offended, who came to
 ‘visit him, and endeavoured to pour
 ‘balm into, bind up, and heal his deep
 ‘wounds) that at any time afterwards he
 ‘enjoyed any peace in his soul.’

THE many conferences that were had with this man, and the papers on this subject that were left behind him, are published at large in the said *Narrative*: To which I must refer the reader, being too much to be inserted in this place.

THIS is not the only instance of the hand of God on *Apostates*: Some *Pædobaptists* have also been made publick examples. *Francis Spira*, having received the light of the Gospel, became a teacher of the blessed truths thereof, amongst his friends and familiar acquaintance. And (says the *Narrative*) in comparison seemed to neglect all other affairs, much pressing this main point of doctrine, *viz. That we must wholly and only depend on the free and unchangeable love of God in the death of Christ, as the only way of salvation.*

THE Pope’s Legate, resident at *Venice*, was stirred by the malice of the *Papists* to accuse *Spira*. And by the craft and policy of the Legate, and thro’ slavish fear, *Spira* first fled, and afterwards renounced his testimony to the truth. The Legate commanded him to return to his own town, and

there to confess and acknowledge the whole doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, to be holy and true, and to abjure the opinions of *Luther*, &c.

AFTER this, he signed an *Instrument of Abjuration*, and then fell under horrid desperation.

MELANCTHON that famous divine, makes mention of a certain man that was a servant, one that he knew, who for a while was a zealous professor of the Protestant Religion, but by the temptation of Satan fell from it; and some time after, having received the sacrament in the *Poppish* manner, he fell under fearful despair, roaring out most horribly. *I have*, said he, *denied the Gospel, and am become the Devil's perpetual vassal*. And whilst the words were yet in his mouth, he suddenly flung himself headlong out of the window, and with the force of the fall, all his bowels gushed out.

MR. *John Fox*, in his acts and monuments, relates a sad story of one Judge *Hale*, who in Queen *Mary's* time was a Protestant, but by the subtilty of the enemy, it was supposed he was overcome; and thereby fell under such horror of mind, that once or twice he did attempt to destroy himself with a knife, yet was prevented; but afterwards, which was in the year 1555, he cast himself into the river, and was drowned.

To

To conclude this reign, I shall only observe from the character given of the King by Dr. *Welwood* * : ‘ That his religion was Deism, or rather that which is called so. And if in his exile, or at his death, he went into that of *Rome* : the first was to be imputed to a complaisance for the company he was then obliged to keep ; and the last to a lazy diffidence in all other religions, upon the review of his past life, and the near approach of an uncertain state.

The character of King Char. II.

‘ He was for the most part, says the Doctor †, not very nice in the choice of his mistresses, and seldom possess’d of their first favours : yet would sacrifice all to please them, and upon every caprice of theirs, denied himself the use of his reason, and acted contrary to his interest.

‘ No age, says he ‡, produced a greater master in the art of dissimulation ; and yet no man was less upon his guard, or sooner deceived in the sincerity of others. If he had any one fixed maxim of government, it was to play one party against another, to be thereby the more master of both : and no Prince understood better, how to shift hands upon every change of the scene.

* *Memoirs*, p. 128.

† *Ib.* p. 129.

‡ *Ib.* p. 131.

‘ To sum up his character: he was
‘ dextrous in all the arts of insinuation,
‘ and had acquired so great an ascendant
‘ over the affections of his people, in spite
‘ of all the unhappy measures he had tak-
‘ en, that it may in some sense be said,
‘ that he died opportunely for *England*;
‘ since if he had lived, its probable, we
‘ might in compliance with him, have
‘ complimented ourselves out of all the
‘ remains of liberty, if he had but a
‘ mind to be master of them; which its
‘ but charity to believe he had not, at
‘ least immediately before his death.’

The End of the Second VOLUME.





APPENDIX.



NUMB. I.

A Declaration of FAITH of English People, remaining at Amsterdam in Holland: Printed 1611.

Wee BELIEVE and CONFESSE,

I.



THAT there are THREE which ¹ John v. 7.
bear record in heaven, the FA-
THER, the WORD, and the
SPIRIT; and these THREE
are ONE GOD, in all equality: Phil. ii. 5, 6.
By whom all things are created Gen. i.
and preserved, in heaven and in earth.

II.

THAT this GOD in the beginning created Gen. i. 1.
all things of nothing, and made man of the — ii. 7.
dust of the earth, in his own image, in righ- — i. 27.
teousness and true holiness; yet being tempted, Eph. iv. 24.
fell by disobedience. Through whose disobe- — iii. 1, 7.
dience all men sinned: His sin being imputed Rom. v. 12,
unto all, and so death went over all men.

A

III. THAT

III.

THAT by the promised seed of the woman, JESUS CHRIST his obedience, all are made righteous, all are made alive: His righteousness being imputed unto all.

IV.

THAT notwithstanding this, men are by nature the children of wrath, born in iniquitie, and in sin conceived: Wise to all evil, but to good they have no knowledge. *The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God.* And therefore man is not restored unto his former estate: But that as man, in his estate of innocency, having in himself all disposition unto good, and no disposition unto evil, yet being tempted might yield, or might resist; even so now being fallen, and having all disposition unto evil, and no disposition or will unto any good, yet God giving grace, *man may receive grace, or may reject grace,* according to that saying, *I call heaven and earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: Therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live.*

V.

THAT GOD before the foundation of the world hath predestinated that all that believe in him shall be saved, and all that believe not shall be damned; all which he knew before. And this is the *election* and *reprobation* spoken of in the scriptures, concerning salvation, and condemnation; and not that God hath predestinated men to be wicked, and so to be damned,

damned, but that men being wicked, shall be damned; for GOD would have all men 1 Tim. ii. 4. saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, and would have no man to perish, but 2 Pet. iii. 9. would have all men come to repentance, and willeth not the death of him that dieth. And Ezek. xviii. therefore GOD is the author of no mens condemnation, according to the saying of the prophet, Thy destruction, O *Israel*, is of thy self, but thy help is of me. Hos. xiii. 9.

VI.

THAT man is justified only by the righteousness of CHRIST, apprehended by faith; Rom. iii. 28. yet *faith without works is dead.* Gal. ii. 16. James ii. 17.

VII.

THAT men may fall away from the grace of GOD, and from the truth, which they have received and acknowledged, after they have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the HOLY GHOST, and have tasted of the good word of GOD, and of the powers of the world to come; and after they have escaped from the filthiness of the world, may be entangled again therein, and overcome. That a righteous man may forsake his righteousness, and perish. And therefore let no man presume to think, that because he hath, or had once grace, therefore he shall always have grace. But let all men have assurance, that if they continue unto the end, they shall be saved. Let no man then presume; but let all work out their salvation with fear and trembling. Heb. xii. 15. x. 26. vi. 4, 5. 2 Pet. ii. 20. Ezek. xviii, 24, 26.

VIII.

Rom. i. 3. **THAT JESUS CHRIST,** the Son of
 ix. 5. **GOD,** the second person or substance in
 Gal. iv. 4. the Trinity, in the fulness of time was mani-
 fested in the flesh, being the seed of *David*,
 Luke i. 35. and of the *Israelites*, according to the flesh,
 Heb. iv. 15. the son of *Mary* the Virgin, made of her
 substance, by the power of the **HOLY GHOST**
 overshadowing her; and being thus *true man*,
 was like unto us in all things, sin only ex-
 cepted, being *one person* in two distinct na-
 tures, **TRUE GOD**, and **TRUE MAN**.

IX.

1 Tim. ii. 5. **THAT JESUS CHRIST** is mediator
 Matt. xxviii. 18. of the New Testament between **GOD** and
 Luke i. 33. man, having all power in heaven and in earth
 Heb. vii. 24. given unto him, being the only **KING**,
 Acts iii. 22. **PRIEST**, and **PROPHET** of his Church:
 He also being the only Law-giver, hath in
 his testament set down an absolute and perfect
 rule of direction, for all persons, at all times,
 to be observed; which no prince, nor any
 whosoever, may add to, or diminish from,
 Rev. xxii. 18, 19. as they will avoid the fearful judgments de-
 nounced against them that shall so do.

X.

1 Cor. i. 2. **THAT** the *Church* of **CHRIST** is a com-
 Eph. i. 1. pany of faithful people, separated from the
 2 Cor. vi. 17. world by the word and Spirit of **GOD**, being
 1 Cor. xii. 13. knit unto the **LORD**, and one unto another,
 Acts viii. 37. by *baptism*, upon their own confession of the
 Matt. iii. 6. faith, and sins.

XI.

XI.

THAT though in respect of CHRIST the *Church* be one; yet it consisteth of divers particular congregations, even so many as there shall be in the world; every of which congregation, though they be but two or three, have CHRIST given them, with all the means of their salvation; are the body of CHRIST, and a *whole church*; and therefore may, and ought, when they are come together, to pray, prophesy, break bread, and administer in all the holy ordinances, although as yet they have no *officers*, or that their *officers* should be in prison, sick, or by any other means hindred from the church.

Eph. iv. 4.
Matt. xviii. 20.
Rom. viii. 32.
1 Cor. iii. 22.
— xii. 27.
— xiv. 23.
1 Pet. iv. 10.
— ii. 5.

XII.

THAT as one congregation hath CHRIST, so hath all. And that the word of GOD cometh not out from any one, neither to any one congregation in particular, but unto every particular *church*, as it doth unto all the world; And therefore no *church* ought to challenge any prerogative over any other.

2 Cor. x. 7.
1 Cor. xiv. 36.
Col. i. 5, 6.

XIII.

THAT every *church* is to receive in all their members by *Baptism*, upon the confession of their faith and sins, wrought by the preaching of the gospel, according to the primitive institution and practice; And therefore *churches* constituted after any other manner, or of any other persons, are not according to CHRIST's testament.

Matt. xxviii. 19.
Acts ii. 41.

XIV.

THAT *baptism*, or washing with water, is
 Rom. vi. 2, the outward manifestation of dying unto sin,
 3. 4. and walking in newness of life; and therefore
 in no wise appertaineth to *infants*.

XV.

THAT the LORD'S Supper is the outward
 1 Cor. x. 16, manifestation of the spiritual communion be-
 17. tween CHRIST and the faithful, mutually to
 — xi. 26. declare his death until he come.

XVI.

THAT the members of every *church* or
 Matt. xviii. congregation ought to know one another, that
 15. so they may perform all the duties of love
 1 Thess. v. 14. one towards another, both to soul and body.
 1 Cor. xii. 25. And especially the *elders* ought to know the
 Acts xx. 28. whole flock, whereof the HOLY GHOST
 1 Pet. v. 2, 3. hath made them overseers. And therefore
 a *church* ought not to consist of such a mul-
 titude, as cannot have particular knowledge
 one of another.

XVII.

THAT brethren impenitent in any one sin,
 Matt. xviii. after the admonition of the *church*, are to be
 17. excluded the communion of the saints. And
 1 Cor. v. 4, therefore not the committing of sin doth cut
 13. off any from the church, but refusing to hear
 the church to reformation.

XVIII.

THAT excommunicants, in respect of civil
 2 Thess. iii. society, are not to be avoided.

XIX.

15.
 Matt. xviii.
 17.

XIX.

THAT every *church* ought, according to the example of CHRIST's disciples and primitive churches, upon every first day of the week, being the LORD's Day, to assemble together, to pray, prophesy, praise GOD, and break bread, and perform all other parts of spiritual communion for the worship of GOD, their own mutual edification, and the preservation of true religion and piety in the *church*: And they ought not to labour in their callings, according to the equity of the moral law; which CHRIST came not to abolish, but to fulfil.

John xx. 19.

Acts ii. 42.

— xx. 7.

1 Cor. xvi. 2.

Exod. xx.

8, &c.

XX.

THAT the *officers* of every *church* or congregation are either *elders*, who by their office do especially feed the flock concerning their souls; or *deacons*, men and women, who by their office relieve the necessities of the poor and impotent brethren, concerning their bodies.

Acts xx. 28.

1 Pet. v. 2, 3.

Acts vi. 1, 4.

XXI.

THAT these *officers* are to be chosen when there are persons qualified according to the rules in CHRIST's testament, by election and approbation of that *church* or congregation whereof they are members, with fasting, prayer, and laying on of hands: And there being but one rule for *elders*, therefore but one sort of *elders*,

Tim. iii.

2, 7.

Tit. i. 6, 9.

Acts vi. 3, 4.

— xiv. 23.

— xiii. 3.

— xiv. 23.

XXII.

THAT the *officers* of every *church* or congregation are tied by office only to that par-

Acts xiv. 23. ticular congregation whereof they are chosen :
 — xx. 17. And therefore they cannot challenge by office
 Tit. i. 5. any *authority* in any other congregation whatsoever, except they would have an *apostleship*.

XXIII.

THAT the scriptures of the Old and New
 2 Tim. iii. 16. Testament are written for our instruction ;
 John v. 39. and that we ought to search them, for they
 testify of CHRIST ; and therefore to be used
 with all reverence, as containing the holy
 word of GOD, which only is our direction in
 all things whatsoever.

XXIV.

THAT *magistracy* is a holy ordinance of
 GOD ; that every soul ought to be subject to
 it, not for fear only, but for conscience sake.
Magistrates are the ministers of GOD for our
 wealth, they bear not the sword for nought.
 Rom. xiii. They are the ministers of GOD, to take ven-
 geance on them that do evil. That it is a
 2 Pet. ii. 10. fearful sin to speak evil of them that are in
 dignity, and to despise government. We
 ought to pay tribute, custom, and all other
 1 Tim. ii. 1, duties. That we are to pray for them ; for
 4. GOD would have them saved, and come to
 the knowledge of his truth. And therefore
 they may be members of the *church* of CHRIST,
 retaining their magistracy ; for no ordinance
 of GOD debarreth any from being a member
 of CHRIST'S church. They bear the sword
 of GOD ; which sword, in all lawful admi-
 nistrations, is to be defended and supported
 by the servants of GOD that are under their
 government, with their lives, and all that
 they have, according as in the first institution
 of

of that holy ordinance. And whosoever holds otherwise, must hold, if they understand themselves, that they are the ministers of the devil, and therefore not to be prayed for, nor approved, in any of their administrations; seeing all things they do, as punishing offenders, and defending their countries, state, and persons by the sword, is unlawful. That it is lawful in a just cause, for the deciding of strife, to take an *oath* by the Name of the LORD.

XXVI.

THAT the dead shall rise again, and the living be changed in a moment; having the same bodies in substance, though diverse in qualities.

1 Cor. xv. 52.

Job xxxviii.

19.

xv. 28.

Luke xxiv.

30.

XXVII.

THAT after the resurrection, all men shall appear before the judgment-seat of CHRIST, to be judged according to their works. That the godly shall enjoy life eternal: The wicked, being condemned, shall be tormented everlastingly in hell.

Matt. xxv. 46.



NUMB. II.

A most Humble SUPPLICATION of many of the King's Majesty's Loyal Subjects, ready to testify all Civil Obedience, by the Oath of Allegiance, or otherwise, and that of Conscience; who are persecuted (only for differing in Religion) contrary to Divine and Human Testimonies: As followeth. Printed 1620.

To the High and Mighty KING JAMES, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Our Sovereign Lord on Earth.

To the Right Excellent and Noble PRINCE CHARLES, Prince of Wales, &c.

To all the Right Honourable NOBILITY, Grave and Honourable JUDGES, and to all other the Right Worshipful GENTRY, of all Estates and Degrees, assembled in this present Parliament.

*Right High and Mighty, } } Right Honourable,
Right Excellent and Noble, } } AND
Right Worshipful.*



AS the consideration of that divine commandment of the King of kings (Let supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty) doth cause in us a daily practice thereof in our

secret

secret chambers for you all, as in duty we are bound, of which the searcher of all hearts beareth us witness; so let it be pleasing unto your Majesty, and the rest in authority, that we make humble supplications and prayers to you, for such our bodily miseries and wants as are upon us, in that it is in your power to redress them; and especially at this present, in this high meeting, assembled for the publick weal of all your loyal subjects. Our miseries are long and lingring imprisonments for many years, in divers counties of *England*, in which many have died and left behind them widows, and many small children; taking away our goods, and others the like, of which we can make good probation; not for any disloyalty to your Majesty, nor hurt to any mortal man, (our adversaries themselves being judges) but only because we dare not assent unto, and practise in the worship of God such things as we have not *faith* in, Heb. xi. 6. because *it is sin against the Most High*, Rom. xiv. 23. as your Majesty well observeth in these words: *It is a good and safe rule in theology, Med. on Lord's that in matters of the worship of God, Quid Prayer. dubitas, ne feceris*, according to *Paul's* rule: *Let every man be fully persuaded in his own* Rom. xiv. 5. *mind.* If we were in error herein, these courses of afflicting our bodies for conscience-cause, are not of *Christ*, but of *Antichrist*, as hereafter is most plainly shewed; and if no church be the rule of faith, but only the *Holy Scriptures*, as the learned *Protestants* do truly confess, and that therefore the doctrine of the church of *Rome* (that all must believe as the church believes, and so practise, or else be cruelly persecuted) be most ungodly, as it is;
I then

then how can they avoid the like censure, that practise the same thing, contrary to their own judgment? For the learned *Protestants* do say, it is high cruelty for the *Papists* to constrain them to practise those things in God's worship, which we have not *faith* in, nay, which they know to be evil, with imprisonment, fire, and faggot. And therefore why may not we say, it is great cruelty for the learned *Protestants* to constrain us to practise those things in God's worship, which we have not *faith* in? Nay, which we certainly know to be evil, with lingring imprisonment, loss of goods, and what other cruelties they can procure against us, of your Majesty, and the civil state. If your learned say, they have the truth, and we are in error; that resteth to be tried by the true touchstone, the holy scriptures. *If they [the learned] be our judges, the verdict must needs go against us.* If their sayings be a safe rule for us to be saved by, we will rest upon them: And then, why may not the sayings of the *Papists* be sure also, and they be the *Protestants* judges, and so bring us all to believe as the church believes? The iniquity of which we have discover'd as briefly as we could; beseeching your Majesty, and all that are in authority, to hear us. *It concerneth our eternal salvation, or condemnation, and is therefore of great importance: For what can a man give for the ransom of his soul? Oh be pleased to remember the saying of that great and good man Job: I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me; And I caused the widows heart to rejoice.*

Job xxix.

12, 13.

*I was a father to the poor, and when I knew Job xxix.
not the cause, I sought it out diligently. I 16, 17.
brake also the jaws of the unrighteous man,
and plucked the prey out of his teeth.*

OUR prayers are, and shall be for you day and night, to that *God of glory*, by whom you reign and are advanced, that *he* will put it into your heart, to let these things enter into your thoughts; and then we doubt not (the evidence of them being such) that you will be moved to repeal and make void all those cruel laws (which we most humbly beseech) that persecute poor men, only for matters of conscience: Not that we any way desire for our selves, or others, any the least liberty from the strict observation of any civil, temporal or human law, made or to be made, for the preservation of your Majesty's person, crown, state, or dignity; for, *all that give not to Cæsar that which is his*, let them bear their burthen; but we only desire, *that God might have that which is his*, which is the heart and soul, in that worship that he requireth, over which *there is but one Lord*, and *one Law-giver*, *who is able to save it, or to destroy it*, Eph. iv. 5. James iv. 12. which no mortal man can do. It is not in your power to compel the heart; you may compel men to be hypocrites, as a great many are, who are false-hearted both towards God and the state; which is sin both in you and them. The vileness of persecuting the body of any man, only for cause of conscience, is against *the word of God*, and *law of Christ*. It is against the profession of *your Majesty*; against the profession and practice of *famous princes*; the *ancient and later approved writers* witness against it; so do the *Puritans*,
yea,

yea, the establishers of it, the *Papists themselves*, inveigh against it: So that God and all men do detest it, as is herein shewed. And therefore, in most humble manner, we do beseech your Majesty, your Highness, your Honours, your Worships, to consider of it, and do as God directeth you in his word, that cannot lye: *Let the wheat and tares grow together in the world, until the harvest.*

And so in humble manner we proceed.

CHAP. I.

The rule of faith is the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, contained in the sacred scriptures, and not any church, council, prince, or potentate, nor any mortal man whatsoever.

PROVED by the scriptures themselves, which are the writings of *Moses*, and the *Prophets*, the *Evangelists*, and *Apostles*: These are a sufficient rule alone, to try all faith and religion by. Our reasons are,

2 Tim. iii. 1. *They are inspired of God, and are able to*
 15, &c. *make us wise unto salvation, and perfect to*
 every good work. 2. Because these writings
 Luke i. 4. *are written, that we might have certainty of*
 the things whereof we are instructed. That
 1 John i. 4. *our joy might be full. And that we might*
 John xx. 31. *believe, and in believing might have life.*
 1 Cor. iv. 6. 3. We are commanded not to presume (or
 be wise) above what is written. For with
 Matt. iv. 4. *this weapon Christ put to flight the devil;*
 Luke xxiv. *and taught his disciples; and Paul taught*
 27. *Christ Jesus. The godly are commended*
 Acts xvii. 2. *for*

for searching the scriptures. All are com- Acts xvii. 11.
 manded to search them. And they that will John v. 39.
 not believe these writings, will not believe — v. 47.
 Christ's words; nor one that should come from Luke xvi. 31.
 the dead. If any ask, how we know all, or
 any of these scriptures to be inspired of God?
 We answer, *The ear discerneth words, and* Job xii. 11.
the mouth tasteth meat for it self. And as
 the eye discerneth the light of the sun, so
 doth our spirit discern these scriptures to be
 inspired of God, and that for these reasons.
 1. In regard of the majesty, wisdom, and
 grace of them, above all other writings: For
 there is as great glory in these scriptures, as
 in the making of this *wonderful world*, which Heb. xi. 1.
 is most evidently discerned. 2. By their
 teachings; which excelleth all human teach-
 ings, leading us from Satan, from this world,
 and our selves, to God, in holiness, faith,
 love, fear, obedience, humility. 3. The true
 events of them, or fulfilling of the prophecies
 contained in them. 4. The consent and agree-
 ment of all the parts of them; the like whereof
 cannot be shewed, of so many several writers,
 since the world began. 5. The admirable
 preservation thereof, against time and tyrants;
 all which could not extinguish them. 6. The
 devil and his instruments rage against those
 that practise the doctrines contained in them.
 7. The conversion of thousands to God, by
 the power of their doctrine. 8. The venge-
 ance that hath come upon such as have not
 obeyed them. 9. The acknowledgment of
 them, by the very professed adversaries thereof.
 10. The miracles confirming them from
 heaven. 11. The sight of a Saviour to man,
 is only by and from them. And lastly, The
 sim-

- 1 Cor. i. simplicity of the writers, and plainness of the writings; for God hath chosen the mean, contemptible, and despised, to manifest unto the world his mysteries. These are sufficient to persuade, that these holy writings are inspired of God; and so able to make wise unto salvation, and perfect to every good work. These scriptures contain the law and testimony; and if any church, council, prince, or
- Isa. viii. 20. potentate, *speake not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them.* And
- Gal. i. 8, 9. *we are commanded to hold them accursed. For whosoever shall add unto these things, God shall add the plagues written herein: And,*
- Rév. xxii. *Whosoever shall take away from these things, God shall take his name out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from those things that are written.*

Much by us shall not need to be written on this subject, the thing is so evident, and so generally acknowledged; at least in words (excepting the *Papists*, with whom we have not here to do) Only we will add some human testimonies.

White's Way
to the Church,
dedicated to
two bishops,
Page 12.

THE learned Protestants affirm and prove, that it is the doctrine of the church of England, Art. 6. *That the scripture comprehended in the Old and New Testament, is the rule of faith so far, that whatsoever is not read therein, nor cannot be proved thereby, is not to be accepted as any point of faith, or needful to be followed; but by it, all doctrines taught, and the churches practice, must be examined; and that rejected, which is contrary to it, under what title or pretence soever it come unto us.* And further, they say, *That the Pope, or any mortal man, should be the rule,*
that

that must resolve in questions and controversies of faith, is an unreasonable position, void of all indifferency; when common sense teacheth, that he that is a party cannot be judge. And White, p. 17. again; Which is the church is controversial; which is the scriptures is not; therefore let that be the rule which is out of doubt. And again; The scriptures contain the principles of our faith, and shall we not believe them? or cannot we know them infallibly of themselves, without we let in the authority of the church? This, and much more, the learned Protestants have written, and sufficiently confirmeth, that no church, nor man whatsoever, may be the judge, rule or umpire in matters of faith, but only the holy scriptures; and whosoever teacheth, and practiseth otherwise, they must hold and maintain the Papists creed, or Collier's faith, which the Protestants so much in words detest, and mention out of Staphilus his apology, thus, *The Collier being* Page 6. *at the point of death, and tempted of the Devil, what his faith was? answered, I believe and die in the faith of Christ's church. Being again demanded, what the faith of Christ's church was? That faith, said he, that I believe in. Thus the Devil getting no other answer, was overcome and put to flight. By this faith of the Collier, every unlearned man may try the spirits of men, whether they be of God or no; by this faith he may resist the Devil, and judge the true interpretation from the false, and discern the Catholic from the heretical minister, the true doctrine from the forged.*

If the answer of the Collier and the Papists conclusion upon it be not sound, but detestable,

ble, as the *Protestants* confess, and cry *wo* unto the *Papists* for the same, and that justly; then is it no less detestable in the *Protestants*, or any other to require, or any to yield so far in religion and faith, that upon such a temptation he hath no better answer to make than as the *Collier*, to say, *I believe and die in the faith of the church, or of the prince, or of the learned*; for being demanded what that faith is? If he be not able to prove it by God's word, contained in the scriptures, it is no better nor no other than the answer of the *Collier*, *The faith that I believe in*. Oh how many millions of souls in this nation, not *Papists* but *Protestants*, live and die, and have never other faith than this, whereunto they are constrained and compelled by persecution, without either faith or knowledge.

CHAP. II.

The interpreter of this rule is the scriptures, and Spirit of God in whomsoever.

THE next thing, as the immediate question from this former, is, Who must interpret this rule? because, as is objected, *There are many dark places in it, hard to be understood*. Unto which we answer, The two witnesses of God shall be the only interpreters thereof; which are, the Word of God contained in the same scriptures, and the Spirit of God; so are they called. *First*, For the scriptures themselves; though some doctrines, in some places, be dark and obscure, as *Peter* speak-

2 Pet. iii.

John xv. 26,

27.

Acts v. 32.

speakeſh, yet the ſelf ſame doctrines, in other places, are plain and manifeſt. For, *all the words of the Lord are plain to him that will underſtand, and ſtraight to them that would find knowledge.* And knowledge is eaſy to him Prov. viii. 9. that will underſtand. Secondly, The Spirit — xiv. 6. of God, ſo ſaith the Apoſtle, *It is the Spirit* 1 John ii. 6. *that beareth witneſs: for the Spirit is truth.* But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghoſt, whom John xiv. 26. the father will ſend in my name, he ſhall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance which I have told you. Howbeit, when he is come, which is the Spirit of truth, he will lead you into all truth: for he ſhall not ſpeak of himſelf, but whatſoever he ſhall hear, ſhall he ſpeak, and he will ſhew you of the things to come. For the Spirit ſearcheth all things, even 1 Cor. ii. 10, the deep things of God. For the things of God 11. knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. But the anointing that ye have received of him, 1 John ii. 27. dwelleth in you; and ye need not that any man teach you, but as the ſame anointing teacheth you of all things, and it is true, and is not lying, and as it hath taught you; you ſhall abide in him. Hereby we know that he abideth in us, even by the Spirit that he hath given us. — iii. 24. For to one is given by the Spirit, the word of 1 Cor. xii. 8. wiſdom; and to another the word of knowledge, by the ſame Spirit.

The ſcriptures be ſo plain in this, that the greateſt adverſaries thereof do acknowledge the truth of it; only herein lieth the difficulty; who it is that hath this Spirit of God to interpret the ſcriptures; which is this ſure rule? which in the next place is to be handled.

APPENDIX.

CHAP. III.

That the Spirit of God, to understand and interpret the scriptures, is given to all and every particular person that fear and obey God, of what degree soever they be; and not to the wicked.

Psal. xxv. 12, 14. **P**ROV'D, *What man is he that feareth the Lord, him will he teach the way that he shall choose. The secret of the Lord is revealed to them that fear him, and his covenant to give*
 — cvii. 43. *them understanding. Who is wise that he may observe these things, he shall understand the loving kindness of the Lord. None of the wicked shall have understanding; but the wise shall understand. For God will do nothing; but he revealeth his secrets to his servants. I have had more understanding than all my teachers, and than all the ancients; because I kept thy precepts: For he that keepeth the law is a child of understanding. If ye love me, keep my commandments; and I will pray the Father, and he shall give you the spirit of truth. If any man love me he will keep my word; and my Father and I will come unto him, and will dwell*
 Prov. xxviii. 7. *with him. If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God or*
 John xiv. 15, 23. *no. Yea, and the Holy Ghost, whom God hath given to all that obey him. I will give you (my disciples that obey me, and suffer for*
 — vii. 17. *my sake) a mouth and wisdom, &c. The Holy Ghost shall teach you what ye shall say. For,*
 Acts v. 32. *It is not you that speak, but the Spirit of*
 Luke xxi. 15. *my Father that speaketh in you. And, to you (my followers) is given to know the mysteries*
 — xii. 12. *of*

of the kingdom of God ; but not to them that are without : For the mystery of the gospel is made manifest to the saints. Col. ii. 2.

THE church and saints of God have revealed unto them by the Spirit, the things that eye hath not seen, &c. And they have received the Spirit of God, that they might know the things that are given them of God. But the natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God ; for they are foolishness to him : neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. But he that is spiritual discerneth all things, &c. 1 Cor. ii. 9, 10, 14.

HENCE it is most plain to whom the Spirit of God is given ; even to every particular saint of God. And it is no private spirit ; but even the publick Spirit of God, which is in him, which enableth him to understand, and so to declare the things given him of God. That is, a private spirit, that is not of God, though it be in multitudes ; but the Spirit of God, though but in one saint, is not private. God's Spirit is not private ; for it is not comprehended only within one place, person, or time, as man's is ; but it is universal and eternal ; so is not man's : Therefore man's is private, though they be many ; God's is publick, though but in one Person. 2 Pet. i. 20.



C H A P. IV.

Those that fear and obey God, and so have the Spirit of God to search out and know the mind of God in the scriptures, are commonly, and for the most part, the simple, poor, despised, &c.

Matt. xi. 5,
25.

James ii. 5.

1 Cor. i. 26,
&c.

Prov. i. 4.

John iii. 8.

1 Kings xxii.

Luke ii. 7.

Mark vi. 3.

Matt. viii. 20.

1 Cor. iv. 11.

PROV'd. Our Saviour saith, *The poor receive the gospel ; and I thank thee, Father, because thou hast opened these things unto babes ; it is so, O Father, because thy good pleasure was such. Harken my beloved brethren, Hath not God chosen the poor of this world that they should be rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he hath promised ?* &c. Brethren, you see your calling, that God hath chosen the foolish of this world, the weak of this world, the vile of this world and despised, and which are not. God's dealing is, to give unto the simple sharpness of wit, and to the child knowledge and discretion. The spirit bloweth where it listeth, and is not ty'd to the learned. Poor persecuted Micaiah had the truth against four hundred of king Ahab's prophets. So had Jeremiah against all the priests and prophets of Israel. The Lord of life himself, in his fleshly being, What was he, but a man full of sorrows ? in his birth, laid in a cratch, because *there was no room for him in the inn.* A carpenter by trade : *Having not a hole to rest his head in.* And in his death, contemned and despised. His Apostles, in like manner, what were they, but mean men, *fishermen, tentmakers, and such like, having no certain dwelling place,* which

which the worldly-wise, Scribes and Pharisees took notice of, and reproachfully said; *Doth any of the rulers, or of the Pharisees believe in him? But this people that know not the law are accursed.* John vii. 48. 49.

THE truth of this is as plain as may be; that the scriptures being the rule of faith, perfect and absolute, and that the plainness of them is such, as by the Spirit of God they may be easily understood of those that fear and obey God, but of none else, and that such are most commonly the poor and despised; for, *if any man want wisdom* (be he never so simple) *let him ask of God, and he will give him.* James i. 5. Which is also confirmed by human testimonies.

THE Protestants confess, That in the primitive church, the doctrines, and several points of religion, were known and discovered by the most mean of the people, and the bishops exhorted them thereunto, &c. Also that this rule is of that nature, that it is able to direct any man, be he never so simple; yea, the most unlearned alive may conceive and understand it sufficiently for his salvation. White, p. 7. Page 9.

AND they relate the sayings of the ancients in this thing. First, Clemens Alexandrinus. The word is not hid from any; it is a common light that shineth unto all men; there is no obscurity in it: Hear you it, you that be far off, and you that be nigh. Next him Austin. God hath bowed down the scriptures to the capacity of babes and sucklings; that where proud men will not speak to their capacity, yet himself might. After him Chrysostom. The scriptures are easy to understand, and exposed to the capacity of every servant, and plowman, and wi-

dow, and boy, and him that is most unwise. Therefore God penned the *scriptures* by the hands of *publicans, fishermen, tentmakers, shepherds, neatherds*, and unlearned men; that none of the *simple* people might have any excuse to keep them from reading, and that so they might be easy to be understood of all men; the *artificer*, the *house-holder* and *widow woman*, and him that is most unlearned. Yea, the *Apostles* and *Prophets*, as school-masters to all the world, made their *writings* plain and evident to all men; so that every man of himself, only by *reading* them, might learn the things spoken therein. Next *Justin Martyr* saith, *Hear the words of the scripture*; which be so easy, that it needs no *exposition*, but only to be *rehearsed*. And this the *Protestants* say was the perpetual and constant judgment of the ancient *church*, &c.

White, p. 21. And further, he alledgeth, *Theodore* who writ of his times, *You shall every where see these points of our faith to be known and understood*, not only by such as are *teachers* in the *church*, but even of *coblers* and *smiths*, and *websters*, and all kind of *artificers*; yea, all our *women*, not they only which are book learned, but they also that get their living with their needle; yea, *maid servants* and *waiting women*; and not *citizens* only, but *husbandmen* of the country are very skilful in these things; you may hear among us *ditchers*, and *neatheards*, and *woodsetters*, discoursing of the *Trinity* and the *Creation*, &c. The like is reported by others. And say the *Protestants*, his *doctrine* that was president in the *Trent conspiracy*, *That a distaff was fitter for women than a Bible*, was not yet hatched, &c.

OH!

OH! it were well if the contempt of these pious practices were paled only within the *Romish* profession, and were not practised in and among those that profess themselves to be separated therefrom; and what is more frequent in the mouths of many *Protestants*, yea, the bishops themselves, than these and such like words: Must every base fellow, *cobler, taylor, weaver, &c.* meddle with the exposition, or discoursing of the scriptures, which appertain to none but to the learned? Yea, do they not forbid their own ministers to expound or discourse of the scriptures? Read their 49th *Canon*, which is; *No person whatsoever, not examined and approved by the bishop of the diocese, or not licensed, as is aforesaid, for a sufficient and convenient preacher, shall take upon him to expound in his own cure, or elsewhere, any scripture, or matter or doctrine; but shall only study to read plainly and aptly (without glozing or adding) the homilies already set forth, or hereafter to be published by lawful authority, &c.* So that not only Jesus Christ and his Apostles (who are alive in their doctrine, though not in their persons) are forbidden all exposition of the holy scriptures, or matter, or doctrine, not being licensed by the bishops; but also their own ministers, who have sworn canonical obedience to them. Yet when they are put to answer the *Papists*, who practise the same thing, they take up both scriptures and ancient writers to confute it.

C H A P. V.

The learned in human learning, do commonly, and for the most part, err, and know not the truth, but persecute it, and the professors of it; and therefore are no further to be followed than we see them agree with truth.

THE next thing in order is, seeing the Lord revealeth his secrets to the humble, though wanting human learning, that we now prove on the contrary. That God usually, and for the most part, hideth his secrets from the learned, and suffereth them to err and resist the truth; yea, so far as to persecute it, and the professors of it.

AND *First*, Let us begin with the learned Heathen, who were behind none in human learning. The wise men of *Egypt*, how did they resist the glorious and powerful truth of God delivered by *Moses*? Yea, they resisted it with such signs and lying wonders, that the heart of *Pharaoh*, and all his people, were hardened against it. And what was the cause of *Babel's* destruction, but their trusting in the learned? *Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy councils, &c. I destroy the tokens of the soothsayers, and make them that conjecture fools, and turn the wise men backward, and make their knowledge foolishness.* The things of God's dealing none of the learned of *Egypt* or *Babel* could interpret but *Joseph* and *Daniel*.

NEXT come to the learned *Priests* and *Prophets* of the *Jews*, whose lips should have preserved

Exod. vii.
12, &c.

— viii. 7.
Isa. xlvii. 13.
— xlii. 25.

preserved knowledge, and at whose mouth the
 people should have sought the Law. But saith
 the Lord, They are gone out of the way; Mal. ii. 7, 8.
 they have caused many to fall by the law, &c.
 Also, Stay your selves and wonder; they are Isa. xxix.
 blind and make you blind; they are drunken,
 but not with wine; they stagger, but not with
 strong drink: for the Lord hath covered you
 with a spirit of slumber, and hath shut up
 your eyes, the prophets and your chief seers, &c.
 Therefore the Lord said, because this people
 come near to me with their mouth, and honour
 me with their lips, but have removed their heart
 far from me; and their fear towards me was
 taught by the precepts of men. Therefore, behold,
 I will again do a marvellous work, in this people;
 a marvellous work, and a wonder; for the wis-
 dom of their wise men shall perish; and the un-
 derstanding of the prudent shall be hid, &c. Their Isa. lvi. 10,
 watchmen are all blind, they have no knowledge, &c.
 &c. And these shepherds cannot understand; for
 they all look to their own way, every one for his
 own advantage, and for his own purpose. The Jer. viii. 9,
 wise men are ashamed; they are afraid and ta- &c.
 ken: Lo, they have rejected the word of the Lord,
 and what wisdom is in them, &c. My people — xiv. 14,
 have been as lost sheep, their shepherds have &c.
 caused them to go astray, and have turned — 1. 6.
 them away to the mountains, &c. Night shall Micah iii.
 be unto them for a vision, and darkness for a
 divination: The sun shall go down over the pro-
 phets, and the day shall be dark over them, &c.
 For they have no answer of God: they build
 up Zion with blood, and Jerusalem with ini- Zeph. iii. 4.
 quity, &c. Her prophets are light and wicked
 persons; her priests have polluted the sanctuary;
 they have wrested the law.

AND

AND in the time of our Saviour, *How*
 Matt. xv. 6. *had they made the commandments of God of no*
 Acts xiii. 27. *authority by their traditions. The rulers of*
Jerusalem (the High priest, Scribes and Pha-
risees) knew not Christ, nor yet the words of
the prophets, which they heard read every sab-
bath, but fulfilled them in condemning him.
 Matt. xi. *And our Saviour saith, I thank thee, Father,*
Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast
hid these things from the wise, and men of
 John vii. 48. *understanding. And none of the Pharisees nor*
 1 Cor. i. 20, *rulers believed on him. Where is the wise?*
 26. *Where is the Scribe? Where is the disputer of*
this world? Hath not God made the wisdom of
this world foolishness? Not many wise men after
the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are
called.

AND for the learned, since the time of
 our Saviour, the council of *Ephesus*, where
 were 132 bishops. Of *Seleucia*; where were
 160 bishops, related by the Protestants.
 How grievously did they err in decreeing
 the detestable error of *Arrianism*? Who is
 ignorant (knowing the histories) that from
 time to time, both particular Popes and ge-
 neral councils have grossly erred in many
 things? Only one we will mention, passing
 by *Trent* and others. The council *Lateran*,
 we mean (Pope *Innocent*, 1215.) which for
 universality was behind none; where were
 present, two patriarchs, 70 archbishops me-
 tropolitans, 400 bishops, 12 abbots, 800
 conventual priors, the legates of the *Greek*
 and *Roman* empire; besides the ambassadors
 and orators of the kings of *Jerusalem*,
France, *Spain*, *England* and *Cyprus*. In
 this council it was decreed, That all here-
 ticks,

ticks, and so many as do in any point resist the Catholick faith, should be condemned, &c. And also that the secular powers, of what degree soever they be, shall be compelled openly to swear for the defence of the faith, that, [they will] to the uttermost of their power, root out and destroy in all their kingdoms, all such persons as the Catholick church hath condemned for hereticks: and if they do not, they shall be excommunicated. And if they do not reform within one whole year, then the *Pope* may denounce all their subjects absolved, and utterly delivered from shewing or owing any fidelity or obedience towards them. Again, That the *Pope* may give that land to be occupied and enjoyed of the Catholicks to possess it (all hereticks being rooted out) quietly and without any contradiction. *Tho. Beacon*, in his *Reliques of Rome*, printed 1563, and the Protestants confess; that this imperfection hath hung so fast upon all councils and churches, that *Nazianzen* saith, *He never saw any council have a good end.*

THUS are here sufficient testimonies proved from scriptures and experience; that the learned may, and have usually erred; and therefore the holy scriptures often warneth us, *To beware of false prophets, for many are gone out into the world.* Matt. xxiv.
1 John. iv.

AND will not your majesty, your highness, your honours, your worships, be pleased to consider of these *things*? But will your selves submit the guidance of your souls to the learned spirituality (as they are called) without due examination by the scriptures? which, if you will still do, we can but bewail

wail with the sorrows of our hearts. And not so only, *but will you with your power which God hath given you to use well, compel and constrain your subjects and underlings to believe as the learned believe, not suffering us to read or search the scriptures?* Which if you abhor, as being the *Romish* practice; will you do that which is worse, letting us read the scriptures, whereby we may know the will of our heavenly Master, and have our consciences enlightened and convinced; but not suffer us to practise that we learn and know? Whereby our sin and condemnation is made greater than

Luke xii. 47. *the blind Papists*, as is proved. And not only so, but will you constrain us to captivate our consciences, and practise in that which in our souls we know to be evil, and contrary to the manifest law of the Lord, and that *only because the learned have so decreed* (whom you acknowledge are subject to err as well as others) or else lie in perpetual imprisonment, and be otherwise greivously persecuted?

May it please you to observe, that the church of *Rome* seeth, and acknowledgeth in words, That *Jesus Christ is come in the flesh*, and hath abolished the priesthood of *Aaron*, and the legal sacrifices; but the *Jews* see it not to this day; nay, the *High Priest*, *Scribes* and *Pharisees* saw it not; but for the publishing thereof, persecuted *Christ the Lord*, and his *Apostles*, unto the death, calling their doctrine *heresy*, and them *sedition* enemies to *Cæsar*, &c. For the which we all justly condemn them for their wickedness, so often as we read the holy history.

AND the church of *England* seeth and acknowledgeth divers damnable doctrines of the church

church of Rome; this among many; That *the scriptures are not the only rule of faith*; but that *men ought to be constrained to believe as the church believes*. The Protestants see the iniquity of this, because they see and acknowledge all churches *are subject to err*. But the learned *Papists* see it not, but have decreed, That whosoever resisteth in any point, shall be judged as an Heretick, and suffer fire and faggot. And every temporal magistrate that doth not root such Hereticks out of their dominions, shall be excommunicated: And if he do not reform, he shall be expelled his earthly possessions, and his subjects freed from owing any fidelity or obedience towards him, &c. For the which height of iniquity the *Protestants* and we justly cry out against them, for all the innocent blood that they have shed.

AND we see most manifestly, That *whatsoever is not of faith is sin*. And without *faith it is impossible to please God*. And Rom. xiv. 23. Heb. xi. 6. therefore that no mortal man may make a law to the conscience, and force unto it by persecutions, and consequently may not compel unto any religion where faith is wanting, as hereafter more largely we prove. But the learned of this land see it not (or rather will not practise it) but for our not submitting herein procure your temporal sword to persecute us, by casting us in prisons, where many of us have remained divers years in lingring imprisonment, deprived of all earthly comforts; as wives, children, callings, &c. without hope of release, till our God (for the practice of whose commandments we are thus persecuted) persuade the hearts, of your majesty,

1

your

your highness, your honours, your worships, to take pity upon us, our poor wives and children ; or his heavenly Majesty release us by death. Will not succeeding ages cry out against the cruelty of the learned *Protestants* herein, as well as they cry out against the cruelty of the learned *Jews* and *Papists* ? Yes, we are assured they will, as many millions do in other nations at this day.

THE scriptures declare, the cause of the *Jews* blindness was, not the obscurity of the scriptures, but that they winked with their eyes, lest they should see that which would deprive them of their honours and profits :
 John xi. 48. And because their fear towards God was taught by mens precepts, and because they looked to their own way, and to their own advantage, and had rejected the word of the Lord ; and because they builded their *Sion* with blood, and *Jerusalem* with iniquity, and sought their own honour, and not God's, as before is proved : so the cause of the blindness of the learned *Papists*, in denying the scriptures, the only rule of faith, is not the obscurity of the scriptures, but their winking with their eyes, lest they should see that that would bring them from their honours and profits, and all the forenamed in the *Jews*. And also, as the *Protestants* well observe,
 White, p. 18. *First, That they might make themselves judges in their own cause : For who seeth not, that if the church be the rule of faith, and theirs be the church, which way the verdict will go ? Next ; For that the greatest points of their religion have no foundation on the scriptures, &c.* So that, take away the scriptures, and establish their religion ; but establish the scrip-

scrip-

scriptures, and their religion vanisheth ; and
 that mother of whoredoms, that glorified her
 self *as a queen*, shall be consumed ; and her Rev. xviii.
 merchants, that were waxed rich through her
 pleasures and profits, shall wail and weep,
 the which they now seeing, shut their eyes,
 lest they should see that which would bring
 them from these honours, profits and pleasures.
 In like manner, it may easily be judged by
 every indifferent man, that the cause why the
 learned of this land will not see, or at least
 practise (that seeing *there is but one Lord*, Eph. iv. 5.
 and *one Lawgiver over the conscience* ; there- James iv. 12.
 fore no man ought to be compelled to a wor-
 ship wherein he hath not faith by persecution)
 is not the obscurity of the scriptures, but their
 winking with their eyes, lest they should see
 that, that would take away their honours and
 profits ? For, if *bribes blind the eyes of the* Deut. xvi. 19.
wise, then honours and profits much more.
 For who seeth not, if none should be com-
 pelled by persecution to worship, till the
 power of God's word had begotten faith
 in them to worship God in spirit and in
 truth (*such only worship him*, and none but John iv. 23.
such are required to worship him) that these
 learned would lose their honours and profits
 in being lords and law-makers over the con-
 science and souls of men ; although your ma-
 jesty might lawfully give them what tempo-
 ral honours and profits your highness liked
 of. These are the true causes of the blind-
 ness of the learned ; for so Christ saith ;
How can ye believe, when ye seek honour one of
another, and seek not the honour that cometh
from God alone. And how can men but be — v. 44.
 blind in God's mysteries, when they look to
 C their

their own way for their own advantage, and for their own purpose ; for having rejected the word of the Lord, What wisdom is in them ? They have no answer of God, that build up their Sion (for so they account their churches and professions) with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity, as before is proved.

IF these learned could free us from the Lord's wrath, or, if they might answer for us, and we be free ; it were safe for us to submit our selves, and captivate our judgments and practice to them ; but seeing they cannot so much as deliver their own souls ;
 Mark xv. 14. *and that if the blind lead the blind, both must fall into the ditch. And every one must give account of himself to God, and be judged by his own works done in the flesh, and that the soul that sinneth shall die.* We dare not follow any mortal man in matters of salvation further than we know him to agree with the meaning of God in the scriptures.

PAUL the holy Apostle of Jesus Christ, taught, *That we should follow him no otherwise than he followed Christ ; yea, Christ himself sent men to the scriptures to try his doctrine.* The Apostles suffered their doctrine to be tried, and commend them that try it.
 2 Cor. xi. 1. *And the Protestants confess, This doctrine was never misliked, till a church rose up, whose silver being dross, and whose milk poison, could not endure the trial ; which being true, that we may try. Why may not we also judge and practice according as God's Spirit shall direct us in our trial ? If a man should drink poison, and know it to be poison, were he not in a worse estate than he that should drink it ignorantly, not knowing there-*

of? even a murderer of himself in the highest degree: So he that drinketh spiritual poison, knowing it (for according to mens faith it is unto them) he is in a worse estate, and a murderer of his own soul in the highest degree. And therefore that church, or those learned, that will suffer their doctrine to be tried, and yet constrain men to receive and practise it, when upon examination, their consciences are convinced of the falsehood thereof, are worse, and do more highly sin than they that constrain a blind conscience, though both be evil.

WE despise not learning, nor learned men, but do reverence it and them, according to their worthiness; only when it is advanced into the seat of God, and that given to it which appertaineth unto the Holy Ghost, which is to lead into all truth; then ought all, as *Ezekiah* did unto the brazen serpent, detest it and contemn it.

C H A P. VI.

Persecution for cause of conscience, is against the doctrine of Jesus Christ, King of kings.

1. **C**H R I S T commandeth, *That the tares and wheat* (which are those that walk in the truth, and those that walk in falsehood) *should be let alone in the world, and not plucked up until the harvest, which is the end of the world.* Matt. xiii. 28.

2. The same commandeth, *That they that are blindly led on in false Religion, and are offended with him for teaching true religion, should*

be let alone, *referring their punishment unto their falling into the ditch.*

Luke ix. 54,
55.

3. AGAIN, he reprov'd his disciples (*who would have had fire come down from heaven, and devoured those Samaritans that would not receive him*) in these words ; *Ye know not of what spirit ye are : The son of man is not come to destroy mens lives, but to save them.*

2 Tim. ii. 24.

4. PAUL the Apostle of our Lord teacheth, *That the servant of the Lord must not strive, but must be gentle towards all men, suffering the evil men, instructing them with meekness that are contrary minded ; proving, if God at any time will give them repentance, that they may acknowledge the truth, and come to amendment out of that snare of the Devil, &c.*

Isa. ii. 4.

Mic. iv. 3, 4.

Isa. xi. 9.

5. ACCORDING to these afore said commandments, the holy prophets foretold, *That when the law of Moses, concerning worship, should cease, and Christ's kingdom be established, then all carnal weapons should cease.*

They shall break their swords into mattocks, and their spears into sitbes, &c. Then shall none hurt nor destroy in all the mountain of my holiness, &c. And when he came, the same he taught and practis'd as before ; so did his

2 Cor. x. 4.

Apostles after him : For the *weapons of his warfare are not carnal, &c.* But he charg'd streightly that his disciples should be so far from persecuting those that would not be of their religion, that when they were persecuted *they should pray.* When they were cursed, *they should bless :* The reason is, because they that are now *tares* may hereafter become *wheat ;* they who are now *blind* may hereafter *see ;* they that now *resist him* may hereafter *receive him ;*

Matt. v.

him ; they that are now in the *Devil's snare*, in adverseness to the truth, may hereafter come to *repentance* ; they that are now *blasphemers, persecutors and oppressors*, as Paul was, may in time, become *faithful* as he ; they that are now *idolaters*, as the *Corinthians* 1 Cor. vi. 9. once were, may hereafter become *true worshippers* as they ; they that are now *no people* 1 Pet. ii. 20. of God, nor under mercy, as the saints sometimes were, may hereafter become *the people of God*, and *obtain mercy* as they. Some Matt. xx. 6. come not till the *eleventh hour*. If those that come not till the *last hour* should be destroyed because they came not at *the first*, then should they never come, but be prevented. And why do men call themselves *Christians*, and do not the things *Christ* would ?

C H A P. VII.

Persecution for cause of conscience is against the profession and practice of famous princes.

FIRST, We beseech your majesty we may relate your own worthy sayings, in your majesty's speech at parliament, 1609. Your highness saith, *It is a sure rule in divinity, that God never loves to plant his church by violence and bloodshed, &c.* And in your highness, *Apol. p. 4.* speaking of such Papists as took the oath, thus: *I gave a good proof that I intended no persecution against them for conscience cause, but only desired to be secured for civil obedience, which for conscience cause they were bound to perform.* And, *p. 60.* speaking of *Blackwell*, the arch-priest, your

majesty saith, *It was never my Intention to lay any thing to the said arch-priest's charge, as I have never done to any for cause of conscience, &c.* And in your highness's *Expos. on Rev. xx.* printed in 1588, and after 1603. your majesty truly writeth thus. Sixthly, *The compassing of the saints, and besieging of the beloved city, declareth unto us a certain note of a false church to be persecution; for they come to seek the faithful; the faithful are those that are sought; the wicked are the besiegers; the faithful the besieged.*

Secondly, *THE saying of Stephen, king of Poland: I am king of men, not of consciences; a commander of bodies, not of souls, &c.*

Thirdly, *THE king of Bohemia hath thus written. And notwithstanding the success of the latter time, wherein sundry opinions have been hatch'd about the subject of religion, may make one clearly discern with his eye, and as it were touch with his finger; that according to the verity of holy scripture, and a maxim heretofore held and maintained by the ancient doctors of the church; that mens consciences ought in no sort to be violated, urged, or constrained; and whensoever men have attempted any thing by this violent course, whether openly or by secret means, the issue hath been pernicious, and the cause of great and wonderful innovations in the principallest and mightiest kingdoms and countries of all Christendom, &c.* And further, his majesty saith; *So that once more we do protest, before God and the whole world, that from this time forward we are firmly resolved, not to persecute or molest, or suffer to be persecuted or molested, any person whosoever, for mat-*

matter of religion, no, not they that profess themselves to be of the Roman church; neither to trouble or disturb them in the exercise of their religion, so they live conformably to the laws of the states, &c.

AND for the practice of this, Where is persecution for the cause of conscience, except in *England*, and where popery reigns? and not there neither in all places, as appeareth by *France*, *Poland*, and other places; nay, it is not practised among the Heathen, that acknowledge not the true God, as the *Turk*, *Persian*, and others.

C H A P. VIII.

Persecution for cause of conscience, is condemned by the ancient and later writers; yea, by Puritans and Papists.

HILLARY against Auxentius, saith thus: The Christian church doth not persecute, but is persecuted: and lamentable it is to see the great folly of these times, and to sigh at the foolish opinion of this world, in that men think, by human aid, to help God, and with worldly pomp and power to undertake to defend the Christian church. I ask of you bishops, what help used the Apostles, in the publishing of the gospel? With the aid of what power did they preach Christ, and converted the Heathen from their idolatry to God? When they were imprisoned, and lay in chains, did they praise and give thanks to God for any dignities, graces and favours received from the court? Or, do you think that Paul went about with regal mandates,

or kingly authority, to gather and establish the church of Christ? Sought he protection from Nero, Vespasian? &c.

THE Apostles wrought with their hands for their own maintenance; travelling by land and water, from town to city, to preach Christ; yea, the more they were forbidden, the more they taught and preached Christ. But now, alas! human help must assist and protect the faith, and give the same countenance to, and, by vain and worldly honours do men seek to defend the church of Christ; as if he by his power were unable to perform it.

THE same against the Arrians. The church now, which formerly, by enduring misery and imprisonment, was known to be a true church, doth now terrify others, by imprisonment, banishment, and misery; and boasteth that she is highly esteemed of the world: whereas the true church cannot but be hated of the same.

TERTUL. ad Scapul. It agreeth both with human equity, and natural reason, That every man worship God uncompelled, and believe what he will; for, another man's religion or belief neither hurteth nor profiteth any man; neither becometh it any religion to compel another to be of their religion; which willingly and freely should be embraced, and not by constraint: Forasmuch as the offerings were required of those that freely, and with a good will offered, and not from the contrary.

JEROM in Proem. lib. 4. in Jeremiam. Heresy must be cut off with the sword of the Spirit. Let us strike through with the arrows of the Spirit, all sons and disciples of misled Hereticks; that is, with testimonies of holy scrip-

scriptures. The slaughter of Hereticks is by the word of God.

BRENTIUS on 1 Cor. iii. *No man hath power to make or give laws to Christians, whereby to bind their consciences ; for willingly, freely, and uncompelled with a ready desire and chearful mind, must those that come, run unto Christ.*

LUTHER, in his book of the civil magistrate. *The laws of the civil government extends no further than over the body or goods, and to that which is external ; for, over the soul God will not suffer any man to rule, only he himself will rule there. Therefore, wheresoever the civil magistrate doth undertake to give laws unto the soul and consciences of men, he usurpeth that government to himself, which appertaineth to God, &c.*

THE same upon 1 Kings vi. *In the building of the temple there was no sound of iron heard, to signify that Christ will have in his church a free and willing people, not compelled and constrained by laws and statutes.*

AGAIN he saith upon Luke xxii. *It is not the true Catholick Church, which is defended by the secular arm or human power, but the false and feigned church ; which although it carries the name of a church, yet it denieth the power thereof. And upon Psal. xvii. he saith ; For the true church of Christ knoweth not Brachium seculare, which the bishops now a-days chiefly use.*

AGAIN, in Postil. Dom. 1. post. Epiph. he saith, *Let not Christians be commanded, but exhorted ; for he that will not willingly do that whereunto he is friendly exhorted, he is no Christian. Therefore those that do compel them,*
that

that are not willing, shew thereby that they are not Christian preachers, but worldly beadles.

AGAIN, upon 1 Pet. iii. he saith, *If the civil magistrate would command me to believe thus or thus, I should answer him after this manner; Lord, or Sir, look you to your civil or worldly government, your power extends not so far to command any thing in God's kingdom, therefore herein I may not hear you; for if you cannot suffer that any man should usurp authority where you have to command, How do you think that God should suffer you to thrust him from his seat, and to seat your self therein?*

THE Puritans, as appeareth in their answer to *Admonit. to Parl.* pag. 109. That Papists nor others, neither constrainedly nor customally communicate in the mysteries of salvation. Also in their supplication, printed 1609. p. 21, &c. much they write for toleration.

Lastly, THE Papists, the inventors of persecution, in a wicked book lately set forth; thus they write: *Moreover, the means which almighty God appointed his officers to use in the conversion of kingdoms and people, was humility, patience, charity, &c. saying, Behold, I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves. He did not say, I send you as wolves among sheep, to kill, imprison, spoil and devour those unto whom they were sent.*

Matt. x. 16.

— ver. 7. AGAIN he said, *They to whom I send you, will deliver you up in councils, and in their synagogues they will scourge you; and to presidents and to kings shall you be led for my sake. He doth not say, You whom I send shall deliver*

the

the people (whom you ought to convert) into councils, and put them in prisons, and lead them to presidents and tribunal seats, and make their religion felony and treason.

AGAIN he saith; *When ye enter into the house, salute it, saying, Peace be to this house. He doth not say, You shall send pursuivants to ransack and spoil the house.* Matt. x. 12.

AGAIN he saith; *The good pastor giveth his life for his sheep; the thief cometh not but to steal, kill and destroy. He doth not say, The thief giveth his life for his sheep, and the good pastor cometh not but to steal, kill, and destroy, &c.* John x.

So that we holding our peace, our adversaries themselves, speak for us, or rather for the truth.

C H A P. IX.

It is no prejudice to the commonwealth, if freedom of religion were suffered, but would make it flourish.

BE pleased not to hearken to mens leasing, but to what God and experience teacheth in this thing. *Abraham* abode among the *Canaanites* a long time, yet contrary to them in religion. Again, *he sojourned in* Gen. xiii. 7, 16, 3. *Gerar, and king Ahimelech gave him leave* — xx, & xxi. *to abide in his land. Isaac also dwelt in the* 33, 34. *same land, yet contrary in religion. Jacob* — xxvi. 31. *lived twenty years in one house with his uncle Laban, yet differ'd in religion. The people*
of

of *Israel* were four hundred and thirty years in that famous land of *Egypt*, and afterwards seventy years in *Babylon*; all which time they differ'd in religion from the states.

Exod. xii.
2 Chr. xxxvi. Come to the time of *Christ*, where *Israel* was under the *Romans*, where lived divers sects of religions, as *Herodians*, *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, *Libertines*, *Tkudeans*, *Samaritans*; besides the common religion of the *Jews*, *Christ* and his *Apostles*, all which differed from the common religion of the state, which (is like) was the worship of *Diana*, which almost the whole world then worshipped. All these lived under the government of *Cæsar*, being nothing hurtful to the state and commonwealth; for they gave unto *Cæsar* that which was his; and for religion to God, he left them to themselves, as having no domination therein. And when the enemies of the truth raised up any tumults,

Acts xix. 20. the wisdom of the magistrates most wisely

— xviii. 14. appealed them.

— xix. 35, &c.

AGAIN, be pleased to look into the neighbour nations, who tolerate religion, how their wealths and states are governed, many sorts of religions are in their dominions; yet no trouble of state, no treason, no hindrance at all of any good, but much prosperity brought unto their countries, they having all one harmony in matters of state, giving unto *Cæsar* his due; and for religion they suffer one another.

IF any object the troubles of *France*, *Germany*, &c. we answer; They are such as have been procured by the learned, but most bloody *Jesuits*, who seek to establish their religion by blood, for the subversion of whom,
your

your wisdoms are wise to deal in. Yet be pleased not to let faithful subjects be punished for their wickedness; but let most severe laws be made for the maintenance of civil and human peace and welfare, as to your majesty and others shall seem expedient. And if it be well observed, it is the learned that raiseth up all the bloody wars among the princes of the earth.

C H A P. X.

Kings are not deprived of any power given them of God, when they maintain freedom for cause of conscience.

WE know the learned do persuade, that kings have power from God to maintain the worship and service of God, as they have power to maintain right and justice between man and man. For Christian kings, say they, have the same power that the kings of *Israel* had under the law. For answer to which,

First, LET it be observed, The kings of *Israel* had never power from God to make new laws, or set up new worships, which God's word required not, nor to set high priests, or spiritual lords for the performance of the services, other than such as God, by *Moses*, had expressly commanded; and therefore the power of the kings of *Israel* will warrant no kings to make or confirm *Canons*, set up new worships, and appoint spiritual lords and lawgivers to the conscience, and persecute all that submit not unto them.

Secondly,

Secondly, LET it be well observ'd, only the kings of *Israel* had this power, but no other kings, whose commonwealths did flourish to them and their seeds after them, to many generations: and it must be granted, that he that is king of *Israel* now, which is Jesus Christ (the truth of those typical kings of *Israel*) he hath the power according to the proportion; the temporal kings had temporal power to compel all to the observation of those carnal or temporal commandments. So Christ, the spiritual King, hath spiritual power to compel all to the observation of his spiritual commandments. For when he came, John iv. 23. himself said; *The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father requireth even such to worship him.* If Christ be only King of *Israel*, that sits upon David's throne for ever, as he is; far be it from any king to take Christ's seat from him. A&ts ii. 30. The wisdom of God foresaw, that seeing the mysteries of the gospel are such spiritual things, as no natural men (though they be princes of this world) can know them; he left not kings and princes to be lords and judges thereof, seeing they are subject to err; but he left that power to his beloved Son, who could not err; and the Son left his only deputy the Holy Ghost, and no mortal man whatsoever, as your highness worthily acknowledgeth, in *Apol.* p. 46. *I utterly deny that there is any earthly monarch over the church, whose word must be a law, and who cannot err by an infallibility of spirit. Because earthly kingdoms must have earthly monarchs, it doth not follow the church must have*

a visible monarch too. Christ is the church's monarch, and the Holy Ghost his deputy. The kings of the nations reign over them; but you shall not be so, &c. Christ when he ascended Luke xxii. left not Peter with them to direct them into all truth; but promised to send the Holy Ghost unto them for that end, &c.

Further, THESE learned alledge the com- Exod. xxiii.
mandments, where Israel are commanded to^{33.}
destroy all the inhabitants of the land, lest Deut. vii, &
they intice them to serve their gods, and to xiii.
slay all false prophets, &c. These they collect from the time of the law; for in the time of the gospel they have nothing to alledge; for Rom. xiii. maketh nothing for their purpose, Cæsar being an heathen king. For answer unto the places of Moses.

First, THE sins of this people, the Canaanites were full, and the Lord would destroy them, and give their possessions unto the Israelites; but the sins of the refusers of Christ are not full until the end, or last hour, as before is proved.

Secondly, THE children of Israel had a special commandment from the Lord to destroy them; but the kings of the nations have no command at all to destroy the bodies of the contrary minded; nay, they are expressly forbidden it.

Thirdly, THE Canaanites would have re- Matt. xiii. 29
belled against Israel, and have destroyed them; but the contrary minded will not rebel against their kings, but give unto them the things that belong unto them; not so much for fear, as of conscience; and of this the God of Gods is witness; if any do, or teach otherwise, let them be destroy'd.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, THE heads and rulers of Israel could command and compel the people to observe those carnal rites and ordinances of the law; even as CHRIST, the head and ruler of Israel can compel to the observation of his spiritual ordinances of the gospel; but the heads of the nations cannot compel their subjects to believe the gospel; for *faith is the gift of God*; which *faith*, if they want, all they do in God's worship *is sin*. Therefore they cannot compel any to worship, because they cannot give them *faith*; for which cause the Lord in wisdom saw it not meet to charge kings with a duty which they cannot perform; God will never require it at their hands; the blood of the faithless and unbelieving shall be on their own heads. *He that will not believe shall be damn'd.*

Rom. xiv. 23.

Heb. xi. 6.

Mark xvi. 16.

AGAIN, seeing it is true, as your majesty well observeth in your highness's speech at Parl. 1609. *That the judicials of Moses, were only fit for that time, and those persons.*

AND also it is confessed, the law for adultery, theft, and the like, is not now to be executed, according to the judicials of *Moses*, nor directions for the magistrates of the earth to walk by; Why should these be any directions for them, seeing also our Saviour and his Apostles have taught the contrary, as before hath been proved? If all false prophets should be now executed, according to *Deut. xiii.* The kings of the earth would not only be deprived of many of their subjects; but the cities of their habitation, with all the inhabitants of the cities, must be destroyed with the edge of the sword; the cattle thereof, and all the spoil thereof must be brought into the midst

midst of the city, and the city and all therein be burnt with fire, be made a heap of stones for ever, and never be built again; which God forbid such execration should ever be seen. And if these judicials of Moses be not now directions for the kings of nations; we read not in all the book of God, any directions given to kings to rule in matters of conscience and spiritual worship to God. But

Rev. xvi. 14.
— xvii. 2,
&c.
— xviii. 3,
9.
— xix. 19.

Thus all men may see, there is only deceit in these learned mens comparisons of the kings of *Israel* in the law, with the kings of nations in time of the gospel, in matters of religion. Much might be written to prove that kings are not deprived of their power by permitting of freedom of religion; but are rather deprived thereof by using compulsion to the contrary minded; and do sin grievously in causing them to sin for want of faith; but this may suffice, the Almighty blessing it with his blessing, which we humbly beseech him for his *Christ's* sake, for his own glory sake, for the prosperity and welfare of these kingdoms, and for the comfort of your faithful and true hearted subjects that are now distressed by long and lingering imprisonments, and otherwise; who of conscience give unto *Cæsar* the things which are his; which is, to be lord and lawgiver to the bodies of his subjects, and all belonging to their outward man; for the preservation of himself and his good subjects, and for the punishment of the evil: In which preserva-

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tion

tion the church of Christ hath a special part, when their outward peace is thereby preserved from the fury of all adversaries; in which respect princes are called *nursing-fathers*, as many are at this day, *blessed be the Lord*.

OH be pleased to consider, why you should persecute us for humbly beseeching you, in the words of the King of kings, *To give unto God the things which are God's*; which is, to be *Lord and Lawgiver* to the soul in that spiritual worship and service which he requireth. If you will take away this from God, what is it that is God's? Far be it from you to desire to sit in the consciences of men, to be *lawgiver and judge therein*. This is *antichrist's* practice, persuading the kings of the earth to give him their power to compel all hereunto. But whosoever submitteth, *shall drink of God's fierce wrath*. You may make and mend your own laws, and be judge and punisher of the transgressors thereof; but you cannot make or mend God's laws, they are perfect already. You may not add nor diminish, nor be judge nor monarch of his church, that is CHRIST's right; he left neither you, nor any mortal man his deputy, but *only the Holy Ghost*, as your highness acknowledgeth. And whosoever erreth from the truth, his judgment is set down, and the time thereof.

THIS is the sum of our *humble petition*; That your majesty would be pleased not to persecute your faithful subjects (who are obedient to you in all civil worship and service) for walking in the practice of what God's word requireth of us, for his spiritual worship,

Matt. xxii.

21.

Rev. xiv. 9,

10.

Psal. xix. 7.

Deut. iv. 2.

Rev. xxii. 18,

19.

2 Theff. i. 8,

&c.

Rom. ii. 8,

&c.

Matt. xiii. 40.

— xxv. 31,

&c.

Rom. ii. 16.

ship, as we have faith, knowing (as your majesty truly writeth in your *Medit.* on *Matt.* xxvii. p. 69. in these words) *We can use no spiritual worship or prayer that can be available to us without faith.*

THIS is the sum of our most humble petition, thus manifoldly proved to be just.

O LORD GOD of glory, raise up in this high assembly the heart of some *Nehemiah*, of some *Ebedmelech*, that may open their mouths (for the dumb, that cannot speak for themselves) in a truth so apparent as this is, lest it be said, as *Isa.* lix. 16. *And when he saw that there was no man, he wondered that none would offer himself; therefore his arm did save it, and his righteousness it self did sustain it.*

AND now we cease not to pray for the king, and his son, and his seed, and this whole, high and honourable assembly, now and always.

Calling the all-seeing God to witness,
That we are your majesty's loyal subjects, not for fear only but for conscience sake. *Unjustly called,*


A N A - B A P T I S T S.



NUMB. III.

*To the Right Reverend THOMAS Lord
Bishop of LINCOLN.*

‘ *My Lord,*

‘  HE ground of my humble tendering these ensuing pages to your lordship, is your declared condescension to peruse any brief treatise that should be presented to you concerning the proper subject and administration of baptism.’

‘ THEN follows a short preface, giving an account of the *English* baptists; at the conclusion of which, the captain says, ‘ That their particular persuasion may be no bar in the way of your lordship’s charity towards them, I shall now proceed briefly to state their opinion, with the proofs in general upon which they establish the truth of it.’

‘ THE substance, says he, of what is asserted by them, is, *That those who do profess repentance towards God, faith in, and obedience to our Lord Jesus, are the proper subjects of baptism.*

‘ THAT the due administration of this ordinance is by immersion, or dipping the person in water; and that they find no rule or example in scripture for baptizing any person in any other manner, or without an actual declaration of faith.

‘ For proof hereof they alledge,

‘ 1. The doctrine and practice of *John the Baptist*, and of the disciples of our Lord, whilst

‘ whilst he was present with them before his
 ‘ crucifixion.’ And saying, Repent ye ; for the Matt. iii. 2, 6,
 kingdom of heaven is at hand. And were bap- 11, 13, 16.
 tized of him in Jordan, confessing their sins.
 I indeed baptize you with water unto repen-
 tance ; but he that cometh after me is mightier
 than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear,
 he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and
 with fire. Then cometh Jesus from Galilee
 to Jordan unto John, to be baptized of him.
 And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up
 straightway out of the water ; and lo, the hea-
 vens were opened unto him ; and he saw the
 Spirit of God descending like a dove, and light-
 ing upon him. John did baptize in the wil- Mark i. 4, 5,
 derness, and preach the baptism of repentance 9.
 for the remission of sins. And there went out
 unto him all the land of Judea, and they of Je-
 rusalem, and were all baptized of him in the
 river of Jordan, confessing their sins. And it
 came to pass in those days that Jesus came
 from Nazareth of Galilee, and was baptized of
 John in Jordan. And he came into all the Luke iii. 3,
 country about Jordan, preaching the baptism of 16, 21.
 repentance for the remission of sins. John an-
 swered, saying unto them all, I indeed baptize
 you with water ; but one mightier than I cometh,
 the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to
 unloose, he shall baptize you with the Holy
 Ghost, and with fire. Now when all the peo-
 ple were baptized, it came to pass that Jesus
 also being baptized, and praying, the heaven was
 opened. Then said Paul, John verily baptized Acts xix. 4, 5.
 with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the
 people, That they should believe on him which
 should come after him ; that is, on Christ Je-
 sus. When they heard this, they were baptized

John iii. 22, *in the name of the Lord Jesus. After these things came Jesus and his disciples into the land of Judea, and there he tarried with them and baptized. And John also was baptizing in Enon, near to Salim, because there was much water there; and they came and were baptized. Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John.*

‘ 2. THE words of positive and sovereign institution, after the resurrection of our Lord.’
 Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. *Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. Amen. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.*

‘ 3. THE Apostles and Evangelists instructions, resolutions of questions on this subject and practice, correspondent with the command, next and immediately after it was given.’

Acts ii. 38. *THEN Peter said unto them, Repent and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. But when they believed Philip, preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women. And as they went on their way, they came unto a certain water; and the eunuch said, See here is water; What doth hinder me to be baptized? And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. And he commanded the*

the chariot to stand still; and they went down both into the water, both Philip and the eunuch, and he baptized him. And when they were come up out of the water, the Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip, that the eunuch saw him no more, and he went on his way rejoicing. And he departed thence, and enter'd into a certain mans house, named Justus, one that worshipped God, whose house joined hard to the synagogue. And Crispus, the chief ruler of the synagogue, believed on the Lord, with all his house; and many of the Corinthians hearing, believed, and were baptized. Acts xviii. 7, 8.

‘ 4. THE manifold use and improvement, which after many Christian churches were settled, the Apostles made in their epistles to them, taken from the due qualifications required in persons to be baptized, and built upon the due administration of that ordinance, wherein is shewed the mystical signification thereof.’

‘ (1.) As it is by the prayer, stipulation, or interrogation of the baptized's good conscience therein Godward, the figure of salvation through the resurrection of Jesus Christ; which otherwise, by the waters washing away of the filth of the flesh in baptism it would not be.’ And now why tarriest thou? Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord. And the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the street which is called Straight, and enquire in the house of Judas, for one called Saul of Tarsus; for behold he prayeth. The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us, not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience to- xxii. 16.

wards God by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

‘ 2. As it is to the understanding of the
‘ baptized person ordained to be a sign of
‘ fellowship with Christ in his death and re-

Rom. vi. 3, 4,
5.

‘ resurrection.’ Know ye not that so many of
us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were
baptized into his death? Therefore we are bu-
ried with him by baptism into death, that like
as Christ was raised up from the dead by the
glory of the Father, even so we also should walk
in newness of life. For if we have been plant-
ed together in the likeness of his death, we
shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection.

Col. ii. 12.

Buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye
are risen with him through the faith of the ope-
ration of God, who hath raised him from the
dead.

‘ And of engrafting into that mystical body
‘ the church, whereof Christ is the head.’ For

Gal. iii. 27,
28.

as many of you as have been baptized into Christ,
have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor
Greek, there is neither bond nor free; there
is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in
Christ Jesus. For by one spirit we are all
baptized into one body, whether we be Jews
or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and
have been all made to drink into one spirit.

1 Cor. xii.
13.

‘ AND consequently a reproof and convi-
‘ ction, in the baptized’s own conscience, of
‘ the crime, in case he be guilty of making
‘ a schism in the church.’ Is Christ divided?
Was Paul crucified for you? or were ye bap-
tized in the name of Paul?

2 Cor. i. 13.

‘ OR separating from the church,’ as,

Jude ver. 19.

Heb. x. 25.

THESE be they who separate themselves, sen-
sual, having not the spirit. Not forsaking the
assem-

assembling of our selves together, as the manner of some is; but exhorting one another; and so much the more, as ye see the day approaching.

‘ 3. As the baptized is presumed to know
 ‘ himself to be thereby obliged in general to
 ‘ a perseverance in holiness, a growth in
 ‘ grace, and knowledge of the mysteries of
 ‘ God, even of the Father and of Christ, and
 ‘ to the yielding a ready obedience of faith
 ‘ to all other doctrines and precepts of our
 ‘ Lord.” *Know ye not, that so many of us* Rom. vi. 3.
as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were bapt-
ized into his death? Buried with him in Col. ii. 12.
baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him
through the faith of the operation of God, who
hath raised him from the the dead. There- Heb. vi. 1.
fore leaving the principles of the doctrine of 2, 3.
Christ, let us go on unto perfection; not lay-
ing again the foundation of repentance from
dead works, and of faith towards God; of the
doctrine of baptisms, and of laying on of
hands, and of the resurrection of the dead,
and of eternal judgment. And this will we
do if God permit.

‘ My Lord, says the captain, if these
 ‘ scriptures be rightly interpreted and applied
 ‘ by these called *Anabaptists*; and if it be also
 ‘ true, as they have often asserted, that there
 ‘ is not in the whole scriptures any rule given
 ‘ to baptize, or any plain instance of any
 ‘ person’s being baptized in any other man-
 ‘ ner, or without being first further instru-
 ‘ cted in the doctrine, and making confession
 ‘ of faith; I cannot conceive why this should
 ‘ not be accepted without any other additio-
 ‘ nal testimonies or arguments, as a sufficient
 ‘ de-

' defence for such, as with a due observance
 ' of all other rules of Christianity, general
 ' and special, do in this point thus behave
 ' and do: nor why they should be therefore
 ' censured, either as varying from the first
 ' institution, or as being deficient in any
 ' proof necessary to maintain this their opi-
 ' on and practice.

' I TAKE it to be agreed, says he, among
 ' the generality of reformed Christians, that
 ' in the holy scriptures are contained dire-
 ' ctions, as well concerning all essential parts
 ' of worship, as doctrines necessary to be be-
 ' lieved. And it may be thence safely con-
 ' cluded, that without the help of any un-
 ' written traditions, or any other writings,
 ' the holy scriptures divinely inspired and
 ' written for our learning, always, since they
 ' were first written, have been, are, and will
 ' be, through faith in Christ Jesus, equally
 ' powerful to render any other person, as well
 ' as *Timothy, wise to salvation*: and to com-
 ' plect any other minister of Christ for his
 ' work, whether it be for doctrine or instru-
 ' ction in righteousness, reproof of errors, or
 ' setting to right and restoring the true wor-
 ' ship of God, if any of his institutions,
 ' through negligence, omission, incogitan-
 ' cy, human traditions, frequent and long
 ' continual examples in the church, or any
 ' other means have not been rightly observed.
 ' And if it be admitted, that no power or
 ' authority was ever committed to any do-
 ' ctors, assemblies, or general councils, pur-
 ' posely, or knowingly, in any transcript of
 ' the scriptures, to vary one letter from the
 ' original record, or in any translation to va-
 ry

' ry from the true and genuine sense of the
 ' original text ; and that not every individual
 ' letter, syllable, or word, in a transcript or
 ' translation ; but the sense of scripture is
 ' of divine authority, and may be render'd
 ' and preach'd now as well as in the Apo-
 ' stles time, to every nation under heaven, Acts ii. 5, 11.
 ' in their respective proper languages. And
 ' that notwithstanding all accidents of vari-
 ' ous lections, or different interpretations,
 ' through the oscitancy of transcribers, or
 ' various sentiments of translators, through
 ' human frailty ; yet, through the admira-
 ' ble providence and grace of God, watching
 ' over and assisting his faithful bishops and
 ' teachers in the church, we have, in all neces-
 ' sary points relating to doctrine, worship and
 ' conversation, the genuine sense and mean-
 ' ing of the holy scriptures continued to us,
 ' as they were at first revealed, and divinely
 ' inspired into, and delivered over by the ho-
 ' ly penmen thereof, as I am abundantly sa-
 ' tisfied ; I thank God for it, that we have.
 ' And if it be also admitted that the church
 ' hath no more power to change the rites and
 ' forms of sacraments instituted by our Lord,
 ' than they have to change his word and law ;
 ' for that as the one contains the audible, so
 ' the other the visible sign of the divine will :
 ' Then, I humbly conceive, in the decision
 ' of this controversy, between the *Anabap-*
 ' *tists* and *Pædobaptists*, we may safely cast
 ' out of our thoughts all intercurrent centu-
 ' ries between the primitive and the present
 ' state of the church ; and without having re-
 ' gard to any intervening canon, tradition,
 ' or nice school distinction, follow that ve-
 ' nerable

'herable scripture example of the chief of
 'the fathers and the priests, in a case which,
 'in many respects, may be said to be of the
 'like nature, upon their return out of the
 'Babylonish captivity; who, when they and
 'the people were assembled to read and un-
 'derstand the words of the law, which God
 'had commanded by *Moses*, and found writ-
 'ten therein in what manner the rites of the
 'feast of tabernacles were to be observed by
 'the *Israelites*, they regulated and kept the
 'ceremonies thereof, not by former examples,
 'but by the prescript form, which had not
 'been so done for about a thousand years be-

Neh. viii. 14, 'fore.' *And they found written in the law*
 15, 16, 17. *which the Lord had commanded by Moses,*
that the children of Israel should dwell in
booths in the feast of the seventh month:
and that they should publish and proclaim in
all their cities, and in Jerusalem, saying, Go
forth unto the mount, and fetch olive branches,
and pine branches, and myrtle branches, and
palm branches, and branches of thick trees, to
make booths, as it is written. So the people went
forth and brought them, and made themselves
booths, every one upon the roof of his house, and
in their courts, and in the courts of the house of
God, and in the street of the water-gate, and in
the street of the gate of Ephraim. And all the
congregation of them that were come again out
of the captivity made booths, and sat under the
booths: for since the days of Joshua the son of
Nun, unto that day, had not the children of Is-
rael done so: and there was very great gladness.

'I TAKE baptism, says the captain, to
 'have been generally reputed the initiating
 'ordinance, or admission of such into the vi-
 'sible

' sible church, who having been before in-
 ' structed in, and converted to the Christian
 ' faith, have, from that internal persuasion,
 ' made an external profession of faith in, and
 ' subjection to the person, doctrine and com-
 ' mands of the Lord Jesus. Not that I rec-
 ' kon it in order of nature, or time, the first
 ' act of worship which any such perform to-
 ' wards him; for if any thing may in that
 ' respect be said to be first, I should rather
 ' attribute the priority to the reception in the
 ' heart, of that *incorruptible seed, the word*
 ' *of God*, by which a person is born again;
 ' and the demonstration of that spiritual life to
 ' be the first breathing after God, thro' Christ,
 ' in holy desires and prayer. Nor do I think
 ' instruction in all the fundamentals of Chri-
 ' stianity, or in the utmost extent or signifi-
 ' cancy of baptism it self, of any more abso-
 ' lute necessity than in the beginning of Chri-
 ' stian religion; for in many, if not in each
 ' individual person, Christianity may in some
 ' respects have as much its beginning now, as
 ' when Christ was first preached among the
 ' *Gentiles*. *Apollos* was *mighty in the scrip-*
 ' *tures*, and an accurate teacher of the things
 ' of the Lord; knowing only the baptism of
 ' *John*, until *Aquila* and *Priscilla* expounded Acts xviii. 24,
 ' to him the way of the Lord more exquisitely. 26.
 ' A deficiency is also mentioned among the — xix. 1, 7.
 ' disciples at *Ephesus*. A competent know-
 ' ledge of the grounds of that obedience, which
 ' in each individual act of worship is yielded
 ' to God, is requisite in him that so worships,
 ' to render it acceptable; for God is a *spirit*,
 ' and seeketh and reputeth such for true wor-
 ' shippers of him, who do worship him in
 ' *spirit*

‘ *spirit and in truth.* But there may be errors
 ‘ on the right hand, as well as on the left.
 ‘ God is jealous of his instituted worship, and
 ‘ no man is exempt, by the dignity of his
 ‘ person, or eminency of his gifts, from yield-
 ‘ ing obedience thereunto, in due order and
 ‘ manner required. It is very remarkable,
 ‘ that *Moses*, the reputed son of king *Pha-*
 ‘ *raoh’s* daughter, educated in all the learning
 ‘ of the *Egyptians*, although God had emi-
 ‘ nently appeared to him, shewed him divers
 ‘ miracles, made him signal promises of his
 ‘ presence and assistance, appointed him to be
 ‘ the leader of his people; yet, after all this,
 ‘ the Lord met him in his journey, and sought
 ‘ to slay him. And by the context it is evi-
 ‘ dent, that this anger against him was for that
 ‘ he had neglected to circumcise his son. Two
 ‘ instances also we have in the New Testament,
 ‘ though not of such severity, yet such as serve
 ‘ to evidence that it may be sometimes neces-
 ‘ sary to admonish those that are most emi-
 ‘ nently favoured of God, and endued with
 ‘ the special gifts of the Holy Spirit, that
 ‘ they defer not that obedience which they
 ‘ ought to yield to his instituted worship, par-
 ‘ ticularly this ordinance of baptism. Ordina-
 ‘ narily, at the first preaching of this gospel,
 ‘ baptism in water did precede the baptism of
 ‘ the Spirit, and conferring of special gifts;
 ‘ although the latter of these was always pre-
 ‘ ferred before the other, as most eminent.
 ‘ But *Ananias* was sent to *Saul* of the Lord
 ‘ Jesus, who had before appeared to him, that
 ‘ by putting on of his hands, as appears by
 ‘ the text, he might receive his sight, and be
 ‘ filled with the Holy Spirit. And this was
 ‘ done,

Exod. iv. 24,
25, 26.

Matt. iii. 11.

Acts ix. 17.

done, not only before his baptism in water; but by comparison of this place with *Acts* xxii. 16. there seems to have been, by *Ananias's* question, *Why tarriest thou?* at least a necessary stirring of him up to an immediate discharge of his duty therein. And the like we may observe in *Cornelius* and his kinsmen, and near friends; on whom, whilst the Apostle *Peter* was preaching to them, the gift of the Holy Spirit was poured out, so that they spake with tongues, and magnified God; which as it did sufficiently evidence they were qualified for it, so also that by this anticipation of the baptism of the Spirit, baptism in water might not be deferred by them. The Apostle, not by way of testimony and exhortation only, as in *Acts* ii. 40. and in other common cases; but as better suiting with their before declared disposition, and the present occasion, expressly commanded them to be baptized. — ver. 33.

‘TOUCHING things relating to the common³⁴ faith, and common salvation of Christians, it has always been allowed, by the most eminently learned and orthodox bishops and doctors, that the scriptures are easy to be understood; and were so plainly in these points penn’d by the Prophets, Apostles and Evangelists, that every person who will read, and diligently search and ponder them, might thereby of himself learn what are therein spoken of these things.

‘TOUCHING the proper subject and manner of baptism, it seems not to me (I speak with submission, says the captain) very material to enquire concerning the different opinions of men, or how their controversies here-
I about

' about have been decided, by any general
 ' council since the Apostles days; because each
 ' person's faith, and practice herein, in every
 ' succeeding generation to the end of the world,
 ' is alike to be founded upon, and regulated
 ' by the scripture, as was theirs who did suc-
 ' ceed immediately, and were next to the Apo-
 ' stles. The scriptures in these points are least
 ' of all liable to be mistaken, when they are
 ' taken by such as read them, as if sent to
 ' them immediately by the hands of the Apo-
 ' stles and evangelists, and by such as hear
 ' them read openly in the church, as if that
 ' service was performed by such as had so re-
 ' ceived them, in obedience to the Apostles
 1 Thess. v. 27. ' strict charge to that purpose.' *I charge you*
by the Lord, that this epistle be read unto all
the holy brethren.

' I do not write this, says the captain, to
 ' derogate from, or diminish any part of that
 ' honour that is due, and ought to be given
 ' to those who are pious and learned *overseers*
 ' in the Lord's vineyard. The wisdom of
 ' God did foresee it necessary to establish ru-
 ' lers, pastors and teachers, in his church,
 ' and to qualify them with suitable authority
 ' and gifts, as well for the good government,
 ' ordering and edifying of the body of Christ,
 ' as on their behalf to watch against and dis-
 ' cover false doctrines, and false teachers;
 ' who by transforming themselves into angels of
 ' light, seek all occasions to destroy the flock,
 ' remove the ancient foundations of the house
 ' of God, and to introduce damnable heresies,
 ' and doctrines of devils; the detection where-
 ' of is not within the compass of an ordinary
 ' capacity; therefore in this respect, especi-
 ' ally

ally even now, when the ravening wolves stood watching for the moment wherein they might seize their prey, is your lordship deservedly rank'd with the foremost of those, whose words are the more excellent and acceptable, because upright, and words of truth, spoken in season by a master of collections. *Prov. xxv. 11.* *Ecclef. xii. 10.* And the grace and good providence of God, that qualified and stirred up your lordship, upon such a special occasion, to detect and expose to open view, the opinions and principles of such false teachers, in their native deformity, which renders them so abominable, that the disciples of those who are the fathers of them, are ashamed to own them, is the more remarkable, and calls for an humble, hearty and thankful acknowledgment from all those on whose behalf this was done.

THESE, and all such labours as have a tendency either to detect erroneous doctrines, or reduce the doctrines of Christianity to their prime and genuine purity, that interpret and help others to understand aright the holy scriptures of truth, have been, and will be always of singular use and advantage to the church of God, approved, blessed, and the authors of them highly esteemed of all sincere Christians for their work-fake.

BUT, my Lord, these and all faithful guides, who teach their hearers and disciples pure doctrine and worship, speak to them in, and guide them to the words of the Prophets and Apostles; so that, by common consent, all are to be tried, judged and determined by the rule of scripture. And in this re-

E

spect

‘spect it is, that this sect of *Anabaptists* amongst us do say,’ *That if the doctrine of baptism, as they teach it, and the form of baptism as they practise it, be according to the scriptures, and primitive use of the Christian church; this alone is a sufficient defence for them herein, although there should be no concurrent testimony of any other tradition, custom, decree of council, or opinion whatsoever.* ‘Yet, my lord, with this due *salvo* to the sovereign and sole authority of scripture, I see no cause they have, if matters be duly weighed, to decline, or that they do indeed appeal from the judgment of the ancient fathers herein.

‘To evidence this on their behalf, I shall,’ says the captain, instance in a few of those many ancient testimonies which they allege as unquestionable, and of such arguments deduced from thence, as to me seem very cogent and natural.

‘I. THAT the general and very ancient usage of sponsors or susceptrors at the baptism of infants, to personate and answer to articles of the Christian faith; as if the very person to be baptised is, beyond contradiction, an evidence in it self of a general received opinion among all that use this custom with understanding, that a confession of the principal doctrines of the Christian faith, made by the person to be baptized, did, according to the first institution, precede baptism. But then the reason alleged by this sect, why they do not observe this ancient custom, is, because, they say, there are no footsteps of this practice to be found in the scriptures; neither can
‘they

‘ they trace the original of it any higher than
 ‘ the time mentioned in the *Roman* breviary,
 ‘ in their service, the 11th day of *January*,
 ‘ celebrated in memory of *Hyginus* bishop of
 ‘ *Rome*, *Anno Christi* 153. who is therein ac-
 ‘ knowledged to be the first institutor of sus-
 ‘ ceptors in baptism; and is so also by the
 ‘ concurrent testimony of other historians.

‘ AND it is further alledged by them, as
 ‘ very probable, that *Tertullian*’s admonition Tert. lib. de J
 ‘ concerning the deferring of infants baptism Bapt. cap. 11.
 ‘ till they could answer for themselves, rather
 ‘ than to admit them to it by such underta-
 ‘ kers, was occasioned by this novel inven-
 ‘ tion of *Hyginus*; the one of them living till
 ‘ toward the latter end of the second century,
 ‘ and the other at the same time, or about the
 ‘ beginning of the third.

‘ 2. THAT practice*, which at first was
 ‘ generally admitted by all sorts of converts
 ‘ to the faith, *Jews* and *Gentiles*, in all places
 ‘ at the same time, and in a continued succe-
 ‘ sion from the beginning, without any dis-
 ‘ pute or disagreement, *Scil.* to baptize such
 ‘ as manifested a joyful reception of the word
 ‘ of grace, and made a confession of their
 ‘ faith, is to be preferred, as agreeing with
 ‘ the first institution and primitive state of the
 ‘ Christian church; before that other pra-

* It is related by father *Vansleb.* in his *French* history
 of the church of *Alexandria*, ch. xxxiii. That *Amba*
Macaire, bishop of *Memphis*, secretary to *Cosmus*, the
 third of that name, patriarch to the *Copti*, or Christi-
 ans of *Egypt*, who liv’d in the eighth century, says, *That*
in the primitive times, baptism was not administer’d in
the church of Alexandria, but once a year, and that upon
Good-friday; and only to those of thirty years of age.

‘*etice, Scil.* admitting infants to baptism by
 ‘sponsors; which obtained but by degrees,
 ‘and in some places before others; and
 ‘which from the first mention of that use,
 ‘successively for several ages, if not to this
 ‘very age, hath been questioned, disputed,
 ‘and sometimes omitted by Christian parents,
 ‘of some who afterwards were of great emi-
 ‘nency in the church, who were not baptized
 ‘until they were adult, although infant bap-
 ‘tism was then admitted by others; as ap-
 ‘pears in the history of their lives, *viz.*
 ‘*Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Constan-*
 ‘*tine, Ambrose and Augustine.*

Hieron. in
 Matt. xxviii.

‘FIRST teach all nations, then dip the
 ‘taught in water; for it cannot be that the
 ‘body should receive the sacrament of baptism,
 ‘unless the soul first receive the truth of faith.

Basil, *mag. de*
spiritu sancto,
cap. 12.
Concilium La-
odiceum,
Anno 364.

‘THE confession of salvation goes before;
 ‘then follows baptism, sealing our covenant.

‘THOSE who are to be baptized ought to
 ‘learn and repeat the creed to the bishop or
 ‘presbyter.

‘THIS canon was confirmed in *Constan-*
 ‘*tine’s* time, at the sixth general synod at
 ‘*Trullo.* Canon 46.

Apolog. Justin
Martyr to the
emp. Anto
nio.

‘As many as believe the things preached
 ‘by the Christians to be true, and promise to
 ‘live accordingly, are taught to fast and
 ‘pray, for the remission of their sins, the
 ‘church also praying and fasting with them;
 ‘and then they are brought to a place
 ‘where water is, and are baptized; then
 ‘they are brought and added to the church
 ‘and receive the Lord’s-supper.

Lud. Vives in
Aug. lib. 1.
de Civ. Dei,
c. 27.

‘NONE but the adult of antient time were
 ‘used to be baptized.

‘THE

THE words of *Tertullian* and *Nazianzen*, *Baxter. more*
 shew it was long before all were agreed of *proofs, p. 279.*
 the time or necessity of baptizing infants
 before the use of reason, in case they were
 like to live to maturity.

3. THAT form of baptizing which is *Sir Norton*
 according to the common acceptation of the *Knatchbull,*
 word and usage of the Christian church in *at large in his*
 its primitive state, and represents all the ma- *notes on 1 Pet.*
 terial points of Christian doctrine, whereof *iii. 21.*
 it is a type, *Scil.* dipping the person bap- *Ambros. de*
 tized in water, to signify his death unto sin, *initiand. c. 3.*
 purification and resurrection unto newness *Bern. ser. 46.*
 of life, is to be observed rather than any
 other form; which agrees only with one
 thing thereby signified, *Scil.* purification,
 which is mentioned (*Let us draw near with* *Heb. x. 22.*
a true heart, in full assurance of faith, ha-
ving our hearts sprinkled from an evil con-
science; and our bodies washed with pure wa-
ter) rather as the effect than form of bap-
 tism. There appearing no reason why this
 word, by which this ordinance was institu-
 ted, should be therein taken in any other
 than a literal sense; and if it be well ob-
 served, it may appear, where-ever this word
 is used in the scriptures in a metaphorical
 sense, thereby is represented an overwhelm-
 ing, plunging, or large pouring on, whe-
 ther it be of sufferings, conferring spiritual
 gifts, or the *Israelites* passing through the
 bottom of the sea, and no where to signify
 sprinkling. It is affirmed by this sect, that
 herein they have the concurrent testimony
 of many learned and approved expositors;
 of those passages of scripture where this
 word is to be taken in a figurative sense.

‘ CLEMENT the 5th is cited for the first,
 ‘ who at the second synod at *Ravenna*,
Anno 1305, approved, that baptism might
 ‘ be given, no necessity compelling, by
 ‘ sprinkling.

Bugenhagius
 Pomeranius,
circa finem
libelli Germa-
 nician 1542.
editi.

‘ JOHANNES Bugenhagius Pomeranus,
 ‘ when he saw at *Hamburg*, an infant
 ‘ brought to baptism, wrapped up in swad-
 ‘ ling clothes, and water sprinkled upon its
 ‘ head, was amazed ; for that except in the
 ‘ case of necessity, for persons sick in their
 ‘ beds, he had neither seen nor heard, nor
 ‘ in any history read of any such thing.
 ‘ Whereupon there being a convocation of
 ‘ all the ministers, it was asked of Mr. *John*
 ‘ *Fritz*, who had been formerly minister at
 ‘ *Lubeck*, how baptism was there administer’d?
 ‘ who answer’d, infants were there, as in all
 ‘ *Germany*, baptized naked ; but he was igno-
 ‘ rant how that peculiar manner of baptizing
 ‘ had crept in at *Hamburg*. At length it was
 ‘ agreed amongst them, that they should send
 ‘ to know the opinion of *Luther*, and the
 ‘ divines at *Wirttemberg* in this matter. Which
 ‘ being done, *Luther* writ back to *Hamburg*,
 ‘ that this sprinkling was an abuse which
 ‘ ought to be removed, that thereupon im-
 ‘ mersion was restored at *Hamburg*.

Monsieur de la
 Roque, mini-
 ster of the re-
 formed church
 at Roan.

‘ A learned *French Protestant*, in answer
 ‘ to the treatise of bishop *Bossuet*, *De commu-
 nione sub utrâque specie*, answers to an ob-
 ‘ jection concerning the *Protestants* baptizing
 ‘ by sprinkling. That it is true they do so,
 ‘ but that it is certainly an abuse ; and that
 ‘ this practice which they have retained from
 ‘ the church of *Rome*, without well exa-
 ‘ mining it, renders their baptism very de-
 ‘ fective.

‘ THERE-

‘ THEREIN is corrupted the institution,
 ‘ and the ancient custom, and the resemblance
 ‘ which it ought to have with faith, repen-
 ‘ tance, and regeneration. Monsieur *Bossuet*’s
 ‘ remark, that plunging had been used for
 ‘ thirteen hundred years, deserves a serious re-
 ‘ flection.

‘ IT was very ill done to abolish the first
 ‘ usage authorized by so much strength of
 ‘ reason, and for so many ages. We are
 ‘ obliged to return to the ancient practice of
 ‘ the church, and the institution of Jesus
 ‘ Christ.

4. THEY further alledge, says the cap-
 ‘ tain, that it appears by several passages in
 ‘ ancient history, that the variations which
 ‘ were made from the first established form
 ‘ of baptism, did not arise from any doubt-
 ‘ ful signification of the words, whereby this
 ‘ ordinance was instituted; but from other
 ‘ collateral considerations, *viz.* The danger
 ‘ of persons, young or old, dying unbapti-
 ‘ zed; and thereupon the pouring or sprink-
 ‘ ling water upon them in their beds, whence,
 ‘ by reason of sickness they could not rise,
 ‘ nor without hazard of a real, instead of a
 ‘ representative dying, be baptized in any
 ‘ other manner.

‘ OF this there needs no other evidence *Magn. apud*
 ‘ than the many questions which were moved. *Cyprian, epist.*
 ‘ Whether their baptism might be esteemed *Corn. ad Fa-*
 ‘ lawful or compleat, who were baptized only *bium, apud.*
 ‘ by sprinkling or pouring on of water? which *Niceph. lib. 6.*
 ‘ received no other answer, but that necessity *cap. 3.*
 ‘ urging, it might be so esteemed.

‘ MY lord, says the captain, I am mind-
 ‘ ful of your direction, not to be prolix;

‘ and have therefore omitted many material
 ‘ quotations ; which if you will please to read
 ‘ a few pages, you will find, in Dr. *Duveil’s*
 ‘ treatise on Chap. ii, viii, and xviii. of the
 ‘ *Acts*, exactly referred to, and much to the
 ‘ purpose. It is not my intent to handle this
 ‘ point by way of controversy, but only to
 ‘ give some brief hints, that as the form
 ‘ of baptism has been varied upon other con-
 ‘ siderations than what appears in the insti-
 ‘ tution, so may it have been also with re-
 ‘ spect to the proper subject of baptism.

Mr. Claude’s
Hist. defence,
Eng. transf.
Part IV.
p. 100.

‘ THE reverend Mr. *Claude*, in his histo-
 ‘ rical defence of the reformation, answering
 ‘ to the objections of the author of prejudi-
 ‘ ces, about the validity of his baptism, cites
 ‘ this passage : *The promise is made to us and*
 ‘ *to our children ; and to all that are afar*
 ‘ *off, even as many as the Lord shall call ;*
 ‘ and says, That by a necessary consequence,
 ‘ the seal of that promise, which is baptism,
 ‘ and all the other rights of the covenant of
 ‘ Jesus Christ, belongs to us, and to our
 ‘ children ; that is to say, to the truly faith-
 ‘ ful. I will not undertake, says he, to ex-
 ‘ plain Mr. *Claude’s* meaning in these expres-
 ‘ sions, nor to set forth the extent of the cove-
 ‘ nant which he mentions.

Nehem. Cox
on the cove-
nants ; prin-
ted at London,
1683. cited by
Duveil, on
Acts ii. 41.

‘ THERE is a short treatise, published by
 ‘ Mr. *Nehemiah Cox*, concerning the cove-
 ‘ nants before the law, on this subject, which
 ‘ may give some light into this matter.

‘ THERE may be a great difference be-
 ‘ tween a direct, immediate, and a remote
 ‘ right to what is comprehended in, or be-
 ‘ longs to a covenant, not to insist any thing
 ‘ on the impropriety or congruity of a seal,

‘ as applied to the covenant of grace under
 ‘ its various ministrations. *David’s* son by
 ‘ *Bathsheba*, in the time of the law, dying
 ‘ at seven days old, had no right to circum-
 ‘ cision. *Shem* and *Lot* were contemporary
 ‘ with *Abraham*; *Job* and his friends, as is
 ‘ supposed, with *Moses*, all true worshippers
 ‘ of God, and within the covenant of grace;
 ‘ yet nothing is spoken of circumcision be-
 ‘ longing to them, or any of their posterity.

‘ In the resolution of the case by the Apo-¹ Cor. vii.
 ‘ stle saint *Paul*, concerning the cohabitation
 ‘ of a believer with an unbeliever, in a mar-
 ‘ ried state, it is determined by the Apostle,
 ‘ that the unbeliever is sanctified by the be-
 ‘ liever; and thence he draws this inference,
 ‘ that their *children* were *holy*: Whence it
 ‘ seems plain, that to the procreation of an
 ‘ holy seed, in the Apostle’s sense, it was ne-
 ‘ cessary that both parents, as well the belie-
 ‘ ver as the unbeliever, in that conjunct state
 ‘ of marriage, should be also reputed holy.
 ‘ And therefore I do not discern how the issue
 ‘ of both these should have any more im-
 ‘ mediate right from thence to baptism, than
 ‘ the unbelieving parent. And if *Christiani*
 ‘ *fideles*, and *baptizati*, were anciently terms
 ‘ promiscuously used one for the other; then
 ‘ it may seem by that character, amongst
 ‘ others given by *Paul* to *Titus*, of a person Tit. i. 6.
 ‘ to be chosen an elder, having believing ^{Tέσσαρες}
 ‘ children, that it was not a common case for ^{ἡλικίας}
 ‘ all Christian parents to have all their chil-
 ‘ dren accounted faithful, and consequently
 ‘ baptized. But whensoever it proved so, it
 ‘ was a great evidence of a right and success-
 ‘ ful education in the fear of God, as was
 ‘ that

2 Tim. i. 4, 5. ' that of *Timothy*, and ground of rejoicing
 2 John v. 4. ' to the servants of God ; as were those *chil-*
 ' *dren of the elect lady*, that walked in the
 ' truth.

' BUT, my lord, my province, says the
 ' captain, is only to repeat briefly what oc-
 ' curs to mind in defence of their opinion and
 ' practice, who are stiled *Anabaptists*; and
 ' otherwise than what may be presumed of
 ' necessary consequence, if the terms and
 ' forms of this ordinance be strictly limited ;
 ' not to intermeddle with the opinion of any
 ' that teach otherwise, but leave them therein,
 ' as I ought to do, to stand or fall to their
 ' own master.

Greg. magn. ' THE *Anabaptists*, in their own case, do
 lib. 1. ep. 37. ' say, It is an opinion that the ancients held,
 ' that what cannot be shewed by certain signs
 ' to be rightly performed, cannot be said to
 ' be repeated.

Scotus, in ' IN all doubtful cases, as to matter and
 4 sent. dist. 3. ' form, there are three special things to be
 q. 2 No. 10. ' observed.

' 1. IF possible to chuse the most safe way.

' 2. IF it be not possible to keep that which
 ' is next to the safest.

' 3. THE impossibility ceasing, to sup-
 ' ply warily what that did for the season pro-
 ' hibit.

Forbesius ' THERE is no doubt but they are again
 Scoto. Britan. ' to be baptized, who were not dip'd in the
 instruct. hist. ' true sacrament of baptism.
 lib. 10. can. 4.

Num. xxx.

Ordo Roma-
 nus de ritibus
 ecclesiast.

' To conclude, Whoever undertakes to
 ' write against the ancient manner of instru-
 ' cting or confession preceding baptism,
 ' or form used in baptizing, hath this task
 ' incum-

‘ incumbent upon him ; To give some other
 ‘ proper interpretation of the words of insti-
 ‘ tution, ancient manner of *catechumens*, use
 ‘ of large *baptisteria* and *Lavacres*, and of
 ‘ the methods and care described for the de-
 ‘ cent administration of this ordinance, than
 ‘ is hitherto extant in the frequent mention
 ‘ of these things in antiquity.

Sittridus O.
 thonis *presby-*
ter assistens
in ipsius actis,
lib. 2. c. 15.
 Salmasius in
epist. ad Andr.
 Calvin. *scrip.*
cal. Jul. 1644.

‘ If I have, says the captain, through in-
 ‘ advertency, erred in any quotations, or in
 ‘ any thing not answered your lordship’s ex-
 ‘ pectation: I humbly beg your lordship’s
 ‘ pardon. And if it may be without trouble
 ‘ to your lordship, that I may, by the mean-
 ‘ est of your servants, receive your lordship’s
 ‘ further commands herein ; they shall readi-
 ‘ ly be obeyed by

Your Lordship’s


obliged and obedient servant,

RICH. DEANE.



N U M B. IV.

A Brief CONFESSION or DECLARATION of FAITH, lately presented to king Charles the second; set forth by many of us, who are falsely called Anabaptists, to inform all men, in these days of scandal and reproach, of our innocent Belief and Practice; for which we are not only resolved to suffer persecution to the loss of our goods, but also life it self, rather than to decline the same. Subscribed by certain Elders, Deacons, and Brethren, met at London in the behalf of themselves, and many others unto whom they belong, in London, and in several Counties of this Nation, who are of the same Faith with us.

I.  E believe, and are very confident, That there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things, from everlasting to everlasting, glorious and unwordable in all his attributes. 1 Cor. viii. 6. Isa. xl. 28.

II. THAT God in the beginning made man *upright*, and put him into a state and condition of glory, without the least mixture of misery; from which he, by *transgression*, fell, and so came into a miserable and mortal estate, subject unto the first death. Gen. i. 31.

i. 31. *Eccles.* vii. 29. *Gen.* ii. 17. and iii. 17, 18, 19.

III. THAT there is one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, who is the only begotten Son of God, born of the virgin *Mary*; yet as truly *David's* lord, and *David's* root, as *David's* son and *David's* off-spring; whom God freely sent into the world, because of his great love unto the world; who as freely gave himself a ransom for all; tasting death for every man; a propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world. *Luke* xx. 24. *Rev.* xxii. 16. *1 Tim.* ii. 5, 6. *1 John* ii. 2. *Heb.* ii. 9.

IV. THAT God is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance, *2 Pet.* iii. 9. and the knowledge of the truth that they might be saved, *1 Tim.* ii. 4. For which end Christ hath commanded that the gospel (to wit, the glad tidings of remission of sins) should be preached to every creature, *Mark* xvi. 15. So that no man shall eternally suffer in hell (that is, the second death) for want of a Christ that died for them; but, as the scripture saith, for denying the Lord that bought them, *2 Pet.* ii. 1. or because they believe not in the name of the only begotten Son of God, *John* iii. 18. Unbelief therefore being the cause why the just and righteous God, will condemn the children of men; it follows, against all contradiction, that all men, at one time or other, are put into such a capacity, as that (through the grace of God) they may be eternally saved. *John* i. 7. *Acts* xvii. 30. *Mark* vi. 6. *Heb.* iii. 10, 18, 19. *1 John.* v. 10. *John* iii. 17.

V. THAT such who first orderly comes into, and are brought up in the school of Christ's church, and waiting there, comes to degrees of Christianity, rightly qualified, and considerably gifted by God's Spirit, ought to exercise their gifts, not only in the church, but also (as occasion serves) to preach to the world (they being approved of by the church so to do) *Acts* xi. 22, 23, 24. *ch.* xi. 19, 20. and that among such some are to be chosen by the church, and ordained by fasting, prayer, and laying on of hands, for the work of the ministry. *Acts* xiii. 2, 3. and i. 23. Such so ordained (and abiding faithful in their works) we own as ministers of the gospel; but all such who come not first to repent of their sins, believe on the Lord Jesus, and so *baptized* in his name for the remission of sins, but are only brought up in the schools of human learning, to the attaining human arts, and variety of languages, with many vain curiosities of speech, *1 Cor.* i. 19, 21. *2 Cor.* ii. 1, 4, 5. seeking rather the gain of large revenues, than the gain of souls to God: Such (we say) we utterly deny, being such as have need rather to be taught themselves, than fit to teach others. *Rom.* ii. 21.

VI. THAT the way set forth by God for men to be justified in, is by faith in Christ, *Rom.* v. 1. That is to say, When men shall assent to the truth of the gospel, believing, with all their hearts, that there is remission of sins, and eternal life to be had in Christ. And that Christ therefore is most worthy their constant affections, and subjection to all his commandments; and therefore resolve, with purpose

pose of heart, so to subject unto him in all things, and no longer unto themselves. *2 Cor.* v. 15. And so shall (with all godly sorrow for the sins past) commit themselves to his grace, confidently depending upon him, for that which they believe is to be had in him: Such so believing are justified from all their sins, their faith shall be accounted unto them for righteousness. *Rom.* iv. 22, 23, 24. and iii. 25, 26.

VII. THAT there is one holy Spirit, the precious gift of God, freely given to such as *obey him*, *Eph.* iv. 4. *Acts* v. 32. that thereby they may be thoroughly sanctified, and made able (without which they are altogether unable) to abide stedfast in the faith, and to honour the Father, and his Son Christ, the author and finisher of their faith. *1 Cor.* vi. 11. There are three that bear record in heaven; the Father, the Word, the Holy Spirit, and these three are one, *1 John* v. 7. which spirit of promise such have not yet received (though they speak much of him) that are so far out of *love, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, meekness, and temperance (the fruits of the Spirit,* *Gal.* v. 22, 23.) as that they breath out much cruelty, and great envy against the liberties, and peaceable living of such as are not of their judgment, though holy as to their conversations.

VIII. THAT God hath, even before *the foundation of the world, chosen* (or elected) *to eternal life, such as believe,* and so are in Christ, *John* iii. 16. *Eph.* i. 4. *2 Thess.* ii. 13. yet confident we are, that the purpose of God, according to election, was not in the least arising from foreseen faith in, or works
of

of righteousness done by the creature, but only from the mercy, goodness, and compassion dwelling in God, and so *it is of him that calleth*, Rom. ix. 11. whose purity and unwordable holiness cannot admit of any unclean person (or thing) to be in his presence; therefore his decree of mercy reaches only the godly man, whom (saith David) God *hath set apart for himself*, Psal. iv. 3.

IX. THAT men not consider'd simply as men, but ungodly men, *were of old ordained to condemnation*, consider'd as such, who turn the grace of God into wantonness, and deny the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, *Jude 4*. God indeed sends a strong delusion to men, that they might be damned, but we observe that they are such (as saith the Apostle) that *received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved*, 2 Theff. ii. 10, 11, 12. and so the indignation and wrath of God, is upon *every soul* of man, that doth *evil*, living and dying therein, *for there is no respect of persons with God*, Rom. ii. 9, 10, 11.

X. THAT all children dying in infancy, having not actually transgressed against the law of God in their own persons, are only subject to the first death, which comes upon them by the sin of the first *Adam*, from whence they shall be all raised by the second *Adam*; and not that any one of them (dying in that estate) shall suffer for *Adam's* sin, eternal punishment in hell (which is the second death) *for to such belongs the kingdom of heaven*, 1 Cor. xv. 22. Matt. xix. 14. not daring to conclude with that uncharitable opinion of others, who though they plead much for

for the bringing of children into the visible church here on earth by *baptism*; yet nevertheless, by their doctrine, that Christ died but for some, shut a great part of them out of the kingdom of heaven for ever.

XI. THAT the right and only way of gathering churches (according to Christ's appointment, *Matt.* xxviii. 19, 20.) is first to teach, or preach the gospel, *Mark* xvi. 16. to the sons and daughters of men; and then to *baptize* (that is, in *English*; to dip) in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, or in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, such only of them as profess *repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ.* *Acts* ii. 38. ch. viii. 12. ch. xviii. 8. And as for all such who preach not this doctrine, but instead thereof, that scriptureless thing of sprinkling of infants (*falsely called baptism*) whereby the *pure word of God is made of no effect*, and the New Testament way of bringing in members into the church by regeneration, cast out; when as the bond woman and her son, that is to say, the Old Testament way of bringing in children into the church by generation is cast out, as faith the scripture, *Gal.* iv. 22, 23, 24, 30. *Matt.* iii. 8, 9. All such we utterly deny; forasmuch as we are commanded to *have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather to reprove them,* *Eph.* v. 11.

XII. THAT it is the duty of all such who are believers baptized, to draw nigh unto God in submission to that principle of Christ's doctrine, to wit, prayer, and laying on of hands, that they may receive the promise

F of

of the holy Spirit. *Heb.* vi. 1, 2. *Acts* viii. 12, 15, 17. *ch.* xix. 6. 2 *Tim.* i. 6. Whereby they may *mortify the deeds of the body*, *Rom.* viii. 13. and live in all things answerable to their professed intentions and desires, even to the honour of him, *who hath called them out of darkness into his marvellous light.*

XIII. THAT it is the duty of such, who are constituted as aforesaid, to continue steadfastly in Christ's and the Apostle's doctrine, and assembling together, in fellowship, in breaking of bread and prayers, *Acts* ii. 42.

XIV. THAT although we thus declare for the primitive way and order of constituting churches; yet we verily believe, and also declare, that unless men so professing and practising the form and order of Christ's doctrine, shall also beautify the same with a holy and wise conversation, in all godliness and honesty; the profession of the visible form will be render'd to them of no effect; *for without holiness no man shall see the Lord*, *Heb.* xii. 14. *Isa.* i. 11, 12, 15, 16.

XV. THAT the elders or pastors which God hath appointed to oversee, and feed his church (constituted as aforesaid) are such, who first being of the number of disciples, shall in time appear to be *vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach, &c. not greedy of filthy lucre* (as too many national ministers are) *but patient; not a brawler, not covetous, &c.* and as such chose, and ordained to office (according to the order of scripture, *Acts* xiv. 23.) who are to feed the flock with meat in due season, and in much love to rule over them with all care,

seeking after such as go astray : but as for all such who labour to feed themselves with the fat, more than to feed the flock, *Ezek.* xxxiv. 2, 3. seeking more after theirs than them, expressly contrary to the practice of the ministers of old, who said, *we seek not yours but you*, 2 *Cor.* xii. 14. All such we utterly deny, and hereby bear our continued testimony against them, as such whom the prophets of old bore testimony against. *Ezek.* xxxiv.

XVI. THAT the ministers of Christ that have freely received from God, ought freely to minister to others, 1 *Cor.* ix. 17. and that such who have spiritual things freely minister'd to them, ought freely to communicate necessary things to the ministers (upon the account of their charge) 1 *Cor.* ix. 11. *Gal.* vi. 6. and as for tithes, or any forced maintenance, we utterly deny to be the maintenance of gospel ministers.

XVII. THAT the true church of Christ ought, after the first and second admonition, to reject all hereticks, *Tit.* iii. 10, 11. and in the name of the Lord to withdraw from all such as profess the way of the Lord, but walks disorderly in their conversations, 2 *Thess.* iii. 6. or any ways causes divisions or offences, contrary to the doctrine (of Christ) which they have learned, *Rom.* xvi. 17.

XVIII. THAT such who are true believers, even branches in Christ the Vine (and that in his account, whom he exhorts to abide in him, *John* xv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.) or such who have charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned, 1 *Tim.* i. 5. may nevertheless, for want of watchfulness, swerve and turn aside from the

same, *ver. 6, 7.* and became as withered branches, cast into the fire and burned, *John xv. 6.* But such *who add unto their faith virtue, and unto virtue knowledge, and unto knowledge temperance, &c. 2 Pet. i. 5, 6, 7.* such *shall never fall, ver. 8, 9, 10.* 'tis impossible for all the false christs and false prophets that are, and are to come, to deceive such; for they are *kept by the power of God, through faith unto salvation, 1 Pet. i. 5.*

XIX. THAT the poor saints belonging to the church of Christ, are to be sufficiently provided for by the churches, that they neither want food or raiment; and this by a free and voluntary contribution, and not of necessity, or by the constraint or power of the magistrate, *2 Cor. ix. 7. 1 Cor. viii. 11, 12.* and this through the free and voluntary help of the deacons (called overseers of the poor) being faithful men; chosen by the church, and ordained by prayer and laying on of hands to that work, *Acts vi. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.* So that there is no need in the church of Christ of a magisterial compulsion in this case, as there is among others, who being constituted in a fleshly and generational way, are necessitated to make use of a carnal sword, to compel even a small, mean, and short maintenance for their poor; when as many other members of their churches can and do part with great and large sums of money to maintain their vain fashions, gold, pearls, and costly array; which is expressly contrary to the word of God, *1 Tim. ii. 9, 10. 1 Pet. iii. 3:* Alas, *What will such do when God riseth up? and when he visiteth, what will they answer him? Job xxxi. 14.*

XX.

XX. THAT there shall be (through Christ, who was dead, but is alive again from the dead) a resurrection of all men from the graves of the earth, *Isa.* xxvi. 19. both the just and the unjust, *Acts* xxiv. 15. that is, the fleshly bodies of men, sown into the graves of the earth, corruptible, dishonourable, weak, natural (which so considered, cannot inherit the kingdom of God) shall be raised again, incorruptible, in glory, in power, spiritual; and so considered, the bodies of the saints (united again to their spirits) which here suffer for Christ, shall inherit the kingdom, reigning together with Christ. *1 Cor.* xv. 21, 22, 42, 43, 44, 49.

XXI. THAT there shall be after the resurrection from the graves of the earth, *an eternal judgment*, at the appearing of Christ and his kingdom, *2 Tim.* iv. 1. *Heb.* ix. 27. at which time of judgment, which is unalterable, and irrevocable, every man shall receive according to the things done in his body, *2 Cor.* v. 10.

XXII. THAT the same Lord Jesus who shewed himself alive after his passion, by many infallible proofs, *Acts* i. 3. which was taken up from the disciples, and carried up into heaven, *Luke* xxiv. 51. shall so come in like manner as he was seen go into heaven, *Acts* i. 9, 10, 11 And when Christ, who is our life, shall appear, we shall also appear with him in glory, *Col.* iii. 4. For then shall he be King of kings, and Lord of lords, *Rev.* xix. 16. For the kingdom is his, and he is the Governor among the nations, *Psal.* xxii. 28. and king over all the earth, *Zech.* xiv. 9.

and we shall reign with him on the earth, Rev. v. 10. The kingdoms of this world (which men so mightily strive after here to enjoy) shall become the kingdoms of our Lord, and his Christ, Rev. xi. 15. For all is yours (O ye that overcome this world) for ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's, 1 Cor. iii. 22, 23. For unto the saints shall be given the kingdom, and the greatness of the kingdom, under (mark that) the whole heaven, Dan. vii. 27. Though (alas) now many men be scarce content that the saints should have so much as a being among them; but when Christ shall appear, then shall be their day, then shall be given unto them power over the nations, to rule them with a rod of iron, Rev. ii. 26, 27. Then shall they receive a crown of life, which no man shall take from them, nor they by any means turned, or overturned from it; for the oppressor shall be broken in pieces, Psal. lxxii. 4. and their now vain rejoicings turned into mourning and bitter lamentations; as it is written, Job xx. 5, 6, 7. The triumphing of the wicked is short, and the joy of the hypocrite but for a moment: though his excellency mount up to the heavens, and his head reach unto the clouds, yet shall he perish for ever, like his own dung; they which have seen him, shall say, Where is he?

XXIII. THAT the holy scripture is the rule whereby saints, both in matters of faith and conversation, are to be regulated; they being able to make men wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ Jesus; profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for instruction in righteousness,

teousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works, 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, 17. John xx. 31. Isa. viii. 20.

XXIV. THAT it is the will and mind of God (in these gospel times) that all men should have the free liberty of their own *consciences* in matters of religion or worship, without the least oppression or persecution, as simply upon that account; and that for any in authority otherwise to act, we confidently believe is expressly contrary to the mind of Christ; who requires, that *whatsoever men would that others should do unto them, they should even so do unto others*, Matt. vii. 12. and that the tares and the wheat should grow together in the field (which is the world) until the harvest (which is the end of the world) *Matt. xiii. 29, 30, 38, 39.*

XXV. WE believe, That there ought to be civil magistrates in all nations, *for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well*, 1 Pet. ii. 14. and that all wicked lewdness and fleshly filthiness, contrary to just and wholesome (civil) laws, ought to be punished according to the nature of the offences; and this without respect of any persons, religion, or profession whatsoever; and that we, and all men are obliged by gospel rules, *to be subject to the higher powers, to obey magistrates*, Tit. iii. 1. *and to submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake*, as saith Pet. ii. 13. But in case the civil power do, or shall at any time impose things about matters of religion, which we, through conscience to God, cannot actually obey; then

we, with *Peter* also, do say, That we ought in such cases *to obey God rather than men*, Acts v. 29. and accordingly do hereby declare our whole and holy intent and purpose, That through the help of grace we will not yield, nor in such cases in the least actually obey them; yet humbly purposing, in the Lord's strength, patiently to suffer whatsoever shall be inflicted upon us for our conscionable forbearance.

THESE things, O ye sons and daughters of men, we verily believe to be the Lord's will and mind, and therefore cannot but speak! And if herein we differ from many, yea, from multitudes, from the learned, the wise and prudent of this world, we, with *Peter* and *John*, do herein make our solemn and serious appeal; namely, *Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto men (of a contrary persuasion) more than unto God.* O let the judicious judge righteous judgment, Acts iv. 19, 20. And in the belief and practice of these things, it being the good old apostolical way, our souls have found that rest and soul peace which the world knows not, and which they cannot take from us. Of whom then shall we be afraid? *God is become our strength, our light, our salvation*; therefore are we resolved, through grace, to seal the truth of these things, in a way of suffering persecution; not only to the loss of our goods, freedoms, or liberties, but with our lives also, if called thereunto.

MOREOVER we do utterly, and from our very hearts, in the Lord's fear, declare against
all

all those wicked and devilish reports, and reproaches, falsely cast upon us, as though some of us (in and about the city of *London*) had lately *gotten knives, hooked knives*, and the like, and great store of arms besides what was given forth by order of parliament, intending to cut the throats of such as were contrary minded to us in matters of religion; and that many such *knives* and arms, for the carrying on some secret design, hath been found in some of our houses by search: We say, from truth of heart, in the Lord's fear, that we do utterly abhor, and abominate the thoughts thereof, and much more the actions; and do hereby challenge both city and country (in our innocency herein) as being not able to prove the things whereof they accuse us; and do for evermore declare the inventors of such reports, to be lyars, and wicked devisers of mischief, and corrupt designs. God that is above all will justify our innocency herein, who well knows our integrity in what we here declare, the Lord lay it not to their charge. In the time of building the decay'd house of God, *Sanballat and Tobiab (wicked counsellors) hired Shemaiah, to make good Nehemiah afraid*; and laboured against him, that they might have *matter for an evil report*; that they might reproach him, and hinder the building of the house of God, *Neh. vi. 12. For I have heard, saith the prophet, the defaming of many; Report, say they, and we will report it, Jer. xx. 10.*

SUBSCRIBED by certain Elders, Deacons and Brethren, met at *London*, in the first month called *March*, 1660. in the behalf
of

APPENDIX.

of themselves, and many others unto whom they belong in *London*, and in several counties of this nation who are of the same faith with us,

<i>Joseph Wright,</i>	<i>William Russell,</i>
<i>William Jeffery,</i>	<i>Joseph Keech,</i>
<i>Thomas Monk,</i>	<i>Nicholas Newbery,</i>
<i>John Hartnol,</i>	<i>Samuel Lover,</i>
<i>Benjamin Morley,</i>	<i>George Wright,</i>
<i>Francis Stanley,</i>	<i>John Parsons, jun.</i>
<i>George Hammon,</i>	<i>Thomas Grantham,</i>
<i>William Smart,</i>	<i>John Claton,</i>
<i>John Reeve,</i>	<i>Thomas Seele,</i>
<i>Thomas Parrot,</i>	<i>Michael Whitticar,</i>
<i>John Wood,</i>	<i>Giles Brown,</i>
<i>Francis Smith,</i>	<i>John Wells,</i>
<i>Edward Jones,</i>	<i>Stephen Torie,</i>
<i>Humphry Jones,</i>	<i>Thomas Lathwel,</i>
<i>Matthew Cassen,</i>	<i>William Chadwel,</i>
<i>Samuel Loveday,</i>	<i>William Raph,</i>
<i>John Parsons, sen.</i>	<i>Henry Browne,</i>
<i>Thomas Stacey,</i>	<i>William Paine,</i>
<i>Edward Stanly,</i>	<i>Richard Bowin,</i>
<i>Jonathan Jennings,</i>	<i>Thomas Smith.</i>
<i>John Hammerfly,</i>	

Owned and approved by more than
twenty thousand.

London, printed for FRANCIS SMITH, at
the *Elephant and Castle*, near *Temple Bar*.
M.DC.LX.

N U M B. V.

A DECLARATION of a small society of baptized Believers, undergoing the name of Free-willers, about the city of London.



WE well knowing that we are and have been misrepresented to the people of this and other nations, as well by particular letters from friend to friend, as by publick intelligence in pamphlets and news books, by which means we have been render'd odious in the eyes of almost all, and as it were made a by word, and a hissing to all. Were notwithstanding willing, according to the requirement of our Saviour, *In our patience to possess our souls,* Luke xxi. 19. and silently to wait upon our God, for a clearing of our innocency, and the cleanness of our hands in his eye-sight; but lately having had a view of a declaration, dated the 12th of *December* last, made by some persons of the particular judgment; in which some others of another persuasion have joined, to the which, in several particulars, we cannot in the least assent to; we therefore thought it our bounden duty, for the vindication of that truth which we are in present profession and practice of; as also fearing, lest they having declared to publick view, we by our silence should be looked upon either to be of the same judgment with them in what they have declared, or else guilty of all or some of those five particulars they in that declaration say the Baptists in general are charged

charged withal, have therefore set pen to paper, and shall first give a particular of the said five charges; and then, as in the presence of God, lay down our real judgments and persuasions grounded upon scripture record, to those charges; by which it will be apparent that we are not guilty of them at all, and that we differ from the said declarers in point of judgment: and if we shall in any thing therein derogate from the mind of God, we shall desire, in the spirit of love, to be rectified by better judgments from the word of truth; and shall think our selves happy gainers in such a Christian reproof. Say they, we being misrepresented to the nation,

1. *As such as are opposite to magistracy.*
2. *THAT we would destroy the publick ministry of the nation, who differ from us in some things about religion.*
3. *THAT we do countenance the people called Quakers in their irregular practice.*
4. *THAT we do endeavour a toleration of all miscarriages in things ecclesiastical and civil, under pretence of liberty of conscience.*
5. *THAT we desire to murder and destroy those that differ from us in matters of religion.*

To the *first*, we positively say, That we are so far from opposing magistracy, as that it would be to us matter of great rejoicing to know who were our magistrates; but far greater to see such set up who are men fearing God, and hating covetousness, that so justice might be duly executed without re-
spect

spect of persons, and judgment run down like water, and righteousness like a mighty stream, that so there might be no more leading into captivity, and that complaining in our streets might have an end. But for our parts, to take a carnal weapon in our hands, or use the least violence, either to support or pull down the worst, or to set up or maintain the best of men, we look not upon it to be our duty in the least ; much less to have a thought of endeavouring to set up our selves, either directly or indirectly ; for were we abilitated and furnished with such endowments as might render us capable of being rulers, yet could we not allow our selves to act as magistrates, because we are a people *chosen out of the world*, and look upon our selves as *pilgrims and strangers in the earth*. But this we know to be the mind of God, that we are to be *subject to, and not to resist the powers*, because they be *ordained of God* ; and as God sets them up, so he requires his sons and daughters to render unto them *tribute, custom, fear and honour*. And we further declare, That it is our bounden duty in obedience to our God, to *pray for kings, and all that are in authority*. So that we are so far from opposing them, as that we say it is our duty to obey them in all civil things that are agreeable to the mind of God ; and if they shall require any thing from us that is contrary to his mind and will revealed in his holy scriptures of truth, we say, we are not to resist them ; but if in conscience we cannot obey them, then we are patiently to suffer under them, whatever they shall inflict upon us for our non-obedience to their requirements ; and
to

James iv. 12.
Isa. xxxiii.
22.

to this we yet further declare, That it is our real judgment as to things spiritual, not to own them as our lawgivers in the least ; *for there is one Lawgiver which is able to save and to destroy*, which is the Lord ; and therefore if they shall at any time impose upon us laws in point of worship ; that is, either to worship a false god, or the true God after a false manner ; we, by God's assistance, shall tell them, with *Shadrach, Meshech and Abednego*, That we are not careful to answer them in that matter, yet shall not violently resist, but with them patiently suffer under them as aforesaid.

Dan. iii. 16.

To the *second*, That we would destroy the publick ministry of the nation, that differ from us about some things in religion. We do declare, That if there be a destruction intended between us, we must leave it at their doors, and desire them to judge between the all-seeing God, the searcher of all hearts, and their own consciences, what they have intended by their so often pressing *parliament* men from time to time, for a suppression of all, that are not of their judgment in matters of religion ; and upon search made, if they find themselves guilty of a desire of any such destruction unto us, we shall beg them in God's fear, to break off that evil by timely repentance, and make their peace with God : as for our parts, we are so far from desiring any revenge against them, or any other that shall desire or endeavour our ruin ; as that in the presence of God we shall rather pity than envy them, and, according to the requirement of our Lawgiver, *pray for them*, and their conversion, not at all in the least desiring or endeavouring their confusion. That there

Matt. v. 44.

are

are many things wherein the publick ministry of the nation and we differ in matters of religion, both in doctrine and discipline, is very clear, and that we design or so much as desire the destruction of them, or any other person whatsoever; for such differences, or any other matters concerning our selves, we hope in our further answer to this, and to the fourth and fifth particulars, we shall manifest to be as clear, and also therein discover our selves to be the *peaceable lambs of Christ, the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls*, who doth require us to *learn of him, for he is lowly and meek*; yet notwithstanding we do declare, when or wheresoever some of us shall conveniently meet with any of them, either in private or in publick, we shall resolve (God assisting us) *to contend earnestly with them for the faith once delivered to the saints*, according to that exhortation of the Spirit of God by his Apostle *Jude*, and against them, and all oppositions, and opposers whatsoever, as good soldiers of *Jesus Christ, fight the good fight of faith*; in which combat we are confident, we neither shall hazard life, nor draw blood; for through mercy we can say with our Apostle, *That though we live in the flesh, yet we war not after the flesh; for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal.*

John xxi. 15.
1 Pet. ii. 25.
— v. 4.
Heb. x. 20.
Matt. xi.

Jude ver. 3.
2 Tim. ii. 3.
1 Tim. vi. 12.

2 Cor. x. 3, 4.

To the third, *That we countenance the people called Quakers in their irregular practice.* To this we answer, and God is our witness, we lye not, that we are so far from countenancing the *Quakers* our selves in any irregular practice, as that if we our selves be found in any such actings, we shall not violently oppose, but patiently subject to such penal-

penalties as the breach of such laws call for; it would have been well if the assertors had declared wherein this irregular practice doth consist, that so we might have given a more particular answer; yet we hope, by what hath and shall be declared, it will easily be judged, that we, for our parts, are no such people as the Baptists generally are reported, and some shew themselves to be.

To the *fourth*, *That we endeavour a toleration of all miscarriages in things ecclesiastical and civil, under pretence of liberty of conscience.* If by endeavouring a toleration of all miscarriages in things ecclesiastical, the assertors intend amongst our selves in our own assemblies, we shall answer them as in the presence of God, the Searcher of all hearts, that we are so far from any such toleration, as that we, at this very day, go under a reproach by that people we formerly walked withal; because in the reality of our souls, and the integrity of our hearts, we cannot allow of some things that we judge to be of that nature amongst them, we well knowing that the Lord Christ requires a perfect observation of, and a universal obedience to all things whatsoever he commanded; and that as well to what hath been laid down by his Apostles, given in by the incomes of that spirit that was to lead them into all truth, and to shew them things to come; which are also the commands of Christ, as to those that were laid down by himself: So that we positively say, That if we shall allow of any miscarriages either in doctrine or discipline amongst our selves, to thwart the mind of Christ, revealed in his scriptures of truth, we can expect no better

Matt. xxviii.
20.

John xvi. 13.
1 Cor. xiv.
37.
John xviii.
12, 15.

better answer for him, than a proclamation of our worship, to our vain worship, as once he declared against the *Jews*: And therefore, if Matt. xv. 9. miscarriages arise amongst us, we are to bring such miscarriages to the touchstone of God's word, and so weigh them in the ballance of the sanctuary, and finding them either too heavy or too light, that is, either adding or diminishing from or to the mind of Christ, we are then to repair to those wholesome laws left us in scripture record, for the regulating of such miscarriages according to the nature of them, as they are private or publick, or more or less in their several aggravations, and as they are committed by persons standing in such or such relations. We say the more of this, because most persons think, and many do not stick to say, that we live and act, in things ecclesiastical, as libertines, and without church government, because we withdraw our selves from the publick assemblies. But did such persons rightly consider what the discipline of the ministry of the nation is in their parochial assemblies, who profess themselves to be the true spouse and church of Christ, and compare it with the mind of Christ revealed in the scriptures of truth, who gives laws to his Eph. iv. 15, church, which is that body of which he him- 21, 22. self is the head; they would then find them- Col. i. 18. selves to be the libertines, and not we: and — ii. 19. therefore we shall earnestly desire all that are unacquainted with the true discipline of the 2 Tim. iii. 16. church of Christ, well to weigh, and seriously iv. 1, 2. to consider the statute laws of Christ, in that Eph. v. 11. case provided; the which, as we will answer Matt. xviii. 15. the contrary at the great day of account, we 1 Tim. v. 12, dare not in the least wilfully violate or neglect. 19, 20. — vi. 5.

G

But — i. 20.

Tit. iii. 10. But if by miscarriages in things ecclesiastical,
 2 Theff. ii. 15. they mean that we endeavour a toleration of
 2 Theff. iii. 10. all miscarriages amongst them in their assem-
 1 Cor. v. 4, 9, 11. blies, we shall, in the presence of God, clear
 ——— v. 12. our selves, and say, We have nothing at all
 to do with them in such matters ; for we say,
 They are *without*, as to us, and so we look
 upon our selves to be as to them. And if
 any one shall seem to be troubled at this term
without, and object and say, That we are all
 the creation of God, and what need those ex-
 pressions of, *Stand at a distance, I am more*
holy than you ; to such we shall answer in the
 spirit of love and meekness, and God is our
 witness, without ostentation, that it is true,
 all the sons and daughters of *Adam*, are the
 sons and daughters of God by creation, but
 Matt. xx. 16. few by regeneration and adoption ; for *ma-*
 Rom. ii. 13. *ny are called, but few chosen* ; for not the
 Matt. vii. 21. *bearers of the law, but the doers shall be ju-*
stified, and not every one that saith, *Lord,*
Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven,
but he that doth the will of the Father ; we
 well know, that many will say, These are
 hard sayings, and cannot well bear them : but
 to such we shall give a direction in our post-
 script, where from one of us they may expect,
 and we hope also find good satisfaction as to
 the term *without*.

THAT we own liberty of conscience, we
 confess, but under that or any other pretence,
 to endeavour a toleration of any miscarriages,
 either in things ecclesiastical or civil, we have
 given (we hope) full satisfaction ; for seeing
 it is the will of our master, to have the tares
 ——— xiii. 30. and the wheat grow together till the harvest ;
 and that our heavenly Father doth exercise his
 Inog-

long-suffering to the whole bulk of mankind, 2 Pet. iii. 9.
not willing that any should perish, but that all
should come to repentance; we look upon it to
be our duty to follow God as *dear children*, Eph. v. 1, 2.
and thus to *walk in love*; and therefore are *like* Phil. ii. 2.
*minde*d, having the same love; and therefore
do further declare, That we are as free, that
all others should enjoy their liberties as we our
selves, of what judgment soever they be, we
well knowing that some are called at the
eleventh hour, as well as at the first and
third. And had the Apostle *Paul* been Matt. xx. 1, 6.
plucked up whilst he was a tare, a persecu-
tor, a blasphemer, and the chief of sinners, 1 Tim. i. 13.
he had never been such choice wheat, to sa-
tisfy, refresh, enable, enliven, enlighten, en-
courage, build up and instruct, correct and
reprove, the building of God, the house of 1 Cor. iii. 9.
God, the household of God, the sons and Heb. iii. 6.
daughters of God, nor that body of which Eph. ii. 19.
Christ is the head; and therefore we cannot 1 Cor. vi. 18.
but say again, that we are as free, that all o-
thers should enjoy their liberties in the things
of God, as we our selves, we well knowing
that every one must give an account of him- Rom. xiv. 12.
self to God; *for every one shall receive the*
things done in the body according to what they 1 Cor. v. 10.
have done, whether it be good or bad. But Matt. xxv. 34.
either to procure or maintain our own or 41.
others liberties by force of arms, or the least
violence, we can find no warrant from the
scriptures of truth, in the least, which is that
only and alone rule that we walk by; for all
the remedy that we find there recorded is,
that if they *persecute us in one city, we may*
flee into another; and this we see acted by our John vii. 1.
Saviour himself, and by his parents, and the Matt. ii. 14.

Acts xii. 17. Apostle *Peter* and saint *Paul*. And to fol-
 — ix. 25, low our Master, and to tread in the footsteps
 26. of the flock of God gone before us, we judge
 1 Cor. xi. 33. is very safe; but to resist by force of arms, or
 use the least violence, we judge unwarrantable.

To the *fifth* and *last* particular; *That we would murder and destroy those that differ from us in matters of religion.* To this we cannot but answer, That so to do, we judge were not so much as common humanity, much less religion or christianity; but our religion is *pure, and undefiled before God and our Father*, which is to *visit the fatherless and widows*; not to make fatherless and widows; and to visit them in their afflictions; not to murder and destroy their relations, to bring them under afflictions: But to this we further answer, That this and the fourth particular we judge seem to contradict one another; for murdering and destroying for difference in matters of religion and liberty of conscience, cannot stand together, nor in the eye of reason can they be charged against one and the same persons; for murdering and destroying for difference in matters of religion, destroys liberty of conscience, and liberty of conscience swallows up and drowns murdering and destroying for difference in matters of religion: so that it argues, that the assertors of these things are yet in *Babylon* and confusion, with those our Apo-
 s Tim. i. 7. stle writ of, *not knowing well what they say, nor whereof they do affirm*; yet, notwithstanding, seeing we are therewith charged, in order to the discharging our selves of this confused burden, we shall, in the singleness of our souls, yet further discover our real judgments, as to the main intent of the charge,
 which

which is murdering and destroying ; and add this further, that we read of a threefold sword in scripture.

(1.) THE sword of the spirit, which is the Eph. vi. 17. word of God.

(2.) THE sword of justice, which is the Rom. xiii. 4. magistrates sword.

(3.) THE sword of steel, usually so called, Isa. i. 20. which is the sword of slaughter. Ez. ix. 1, 2.

THE *first* of these we are required to take to us, and *put on*, and *thus to be strong in* Eph. vi. 11, *the Lord, and in the power of his might,* 13, 17. whose might was evidenced once again and again, by using this sword skilfully ; *for it* Matt. iv. 4, 7, *is mighty through God to the pulling down of* 9. *strong holds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth it self against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity, &c.* and having in a readiness to revenge all 2 Cor. x. 4, *disobedience, and is profitable for doctrine, for* 5, 6. *reproof, for correction, for instruction in right-* 2 Tim. iii. *eousness, that the man of God may be perfect,* 16, 17. *thoroughly furnished unto all good works ; for* Eph. vi. 12. *we wrestle not with flesh and blood, but against principalities, powers, the rulers of the darkness of this world ; not for nor against the magistrates, parliament, nor armies of the world, the best of whose strength is flesh and* Isa. xxxi. 1, *not spirit, who shall be destroy'd together.* 2, 3. As for the sword of justice, or the magistrates sword we are to be subject to it, as we have 58. fully declared, and not to resist it ; which sword takes revenge on no man before he be apprehended, charged, heard, and by good evidence convicted, and sentence, according to the fact prov'd, given ; and then an immediate commission given to an executioner,

according to the fact and sentence, for the putting this sword in execution.

BUT the sword of slaughter, without examination or due consideration, is, many times, put in execution to the slaying and destroying of friends as well as enemies, witness those slaughters and woundings in this city in the late insurrection.

AND for our acting in this sword, we can find no warrant from scripture in the least; for that sword being once procured by *Peter*, and another of the disciples, and that by an immediate commission from Christ, the work being finished for which it was intended, we find an immediate and peremptory command for the sheathing it again; and this reason

Matt. xxvi.
52.
Mark xvi. 15.

render'd from the lip of truth it self; *for all they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword: for whosoever will save his life, shall lose it.* And we find no toleration in holy writ to the people of God for the drawing it again in the least, neither by precept nor example.

BUT lest this countermand should not be looked upon to be a sufficient warrant for its continuance in its place, by the people of God, for the time to come; the Lord Christ, among several other weighty things, sent to the seven churches in *Asia*, and in them to us, by *John* the revelator, is not backward to remind them, and us in them of it again, as a matter of no small concernment; and, as we judge, lest it should not be taken so much notice of by us in this our day as he would have it, he bringeth it in, in the midst of a discourse, not long before the rise of the man of sin, when one of the heads of the
beast

beast is wounded as it were to death, and that deadly wound was healed; intimating thus much, as we apprehend, That as kingly power hath had a wound in these nations, even as it were unto death, so we know that the design of God shall be brought about, and the scriptures must be fulfilled; for the deadly wound shall be healed. And we finding the spirits of the generality of the people of the three nations very high in this juncture of time in the behalf of kingly government, like *Israel* of old; so that by the face of things, as they appear to us in this last change, we do discern as through a glass darkly, that the deadly wound is now going to be healed, although we do really judge, that several that are in present eminent power, intend no such thing, no more than the *Jews* in the crucifying of Christ, intended the bringing the great design and fore-appointment of God about; by all which we judge, that caution was intended chiefly to us, upon whom the ends of the world is come: and lest we should not be so mindful of our duties as he would have us, he makes, as it were, a proclamation, to bespeak our better attention to what he intendeth, and saith, *He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear: he that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity: he that killeth with the sword, shall be killed with the sword.* Here is the faith and patience of the saints; that whilst others are leading into captivity, and killing with the sword, to pull down, or set up this or that power, man, or government, to give a deadly wound to kingly power, or to heal that deadly wound again; that then the people of God should,

Rev. xiii. 3.

1 Sam. viii.

Acts ii. 23.

Rev. xiii. 9,
10.

- Heb. iii. 17. in their *patience possess their souls*, and in the midst of these revolutions exercise their faith, as once that prophet did, and faithfully to depend upon God for his preservation and protection, keeping themselves pure and undefiled, from leading into captivity, or killing with the sword, lest they themselves be led into captivity, and be killed by the sword ;
- John xv. 19. thereby evidencing themselves to be the *peaceable flock of Christ, chosen out of the world*, and following their *master, the Lord and prince of peace*, being regulated by his requirements in the *gospel of peace*, having received from the *God of peace*, that spirit, whose fruits is *love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness and temperance, against which there is no law* ; that as they are Christ's, so they should evidence that they have *crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts* ; but lust being not crucified, it breaks forth into wars and fightings ;
- James iv. 1, 2. for when *men lust, and have not*, then they *kill, and desire to have* ; and when the people of God shall act thus, the spirit of God brands them with those ignominious names of adulterers and adulteresses ; informing them, that what they are fighting for is enmity against God ; and that if they obtain it, they are enemies to God : And we well knowing that whilst we are friends to the world we are enemies to God, dare not, in the least, have to do in the world, so as to set up ourselves, or to side with any either in setting up or pulling down ; and how can a man's love to the world be evidenced more, than in venturing his life for it, according to that
- John xv. 13. saying of our Saviour.

AND

AND we further declare, That as we are to be a peaceable people upon the account of action, so we look upon it to be our duty to keep our selves from oaths, engagements and covenants, either for or against this or that person, government, or persons whatsoever: *For because of swearing the land mourneth.* Jer. xxiii. 10; *For the Lord hath a controversy with the inhabitants of the land; because there is no truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land; for by swearing, and lying, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery, they break forth, and blood toucheth blood, saith the prophet.* And saith the same prophet; Hos. iv. 1, 2. *They have spoken words swearing falsely in making a covenant. Thus judgment springeth up as hemlock in the furrows of the field; and we not knowing what the cabinet counsel of God is in this our day, upon the account of government, dare not in the least have so much as a thought to engage in any such thing, lest we be found fighters against God,* Acts v. 39; according to the saying of Gamaliel, though in another case.

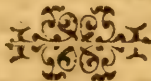
AND therefore do declare our resolution herein, That we shall not (God assisting us) enter into any engagement whatsoever upon any such account; yet shall this say again, That we shall not violently resist the imposers of any such engagements; but shall patiently suffer the penalty of our non-obedience as aforesaid.

AND we further declare, as in the presence of God, who is the searcher of all hearts, That as it hath been some of our great trouble for a long time, to see some of those that are in the same faith and order with us, so acting;

ing; so it is now become even an overwhelming burden upon our souls, to see them generally running such a precipitant course, by which actings of theirs, the mouths almost of all men are opened against them, and that truth they profess, most ignominiously branded and reproached. And therefore we further declare, That in the sight of God, Angels and men, that we bear our testimony against them in their present actings, and cannot stand by them, nor have communion with them therein, nor with those that strengthen their hands in standing by them; and must tell them, in the words of our Saviour, *That they know not what spirit they are of; for the son of man, their master, came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them.*

Luke ix. 55.

THE premises consider'd, we shall appeal to the judgments of all rational men, whether we are guilty of what we are charged withal or not; yet if they shall still go on notwithstanding, to use us reproachfully for the name of Christ, we shall be so far from endeavouring or desiring a revenge, as that, in the words of Christ, we shall, in our requests at the throne of grace, cry out and say, *Father forgive them, they know not what they do.*



P O S T S C R I P T.

FOrasmuch as the said declarers, in their answer to the first particular in their declaration, do call the *Independants and Presbyterians* their Christian friends, the which however it is they so complement with them, yet in reality (we judge) they cannot own them as such upon a scripture account; as also because one Mr. *William Alleyn*, in a book lately by him publish'd, intitl'd, *A retraction to separation*. In which book, in the whole current of it, all the scriptures that he brings, which were written by the immediate direction and incomes of the holy Spirit of God, to the churches, as they were in the faith and order of the gospel, he applieth to, and also for, and in the behalf of *Episcopals, Independants and Presbyterians*, who are opposite both to the doctrine and discipline of those churches, he intending thereby to persuade us, if possible, to a belief that they are the true and visible members of that body, of which Christ is the head; the which book, by God's assistance, is intended suddenly to be answer'd by one of our society, who resolveth to intitle it, *The retractators work scan'd, or the conceptions and supposals of Mr. William Alleyn, regulated by scripture record*; in which, with other things, a gospel believer, or a true church of Christ, upon a gospel account, is intended to be stated; the which is hoped will be so plain, that it may prove instrumental to the undeceiving of some
that

that are under a deceit, by means of that and such deceitful discourses as that is. In which answer it is further hoped, that those that are unsatisfied with our term *without*, in our answer in our declaration to the fourth particular, may receive also good satisfaction; and in the mean time, we desire all to take notice, that though we thus speak, yet we have good thoughts of those friends that go under those denominations, and do own them, and all others, of all other opinions whatsoever, in union, so far as they own God, Christ and their truths: but to own the best of men to be members of that body of which Christ is the head, and so to have communion with them, either to make them our mouth in prayer to God for us, or God's mouth in speaking forth his truths to us, or in breaking of bread at the table of the Lord, we cannot own them in the least, our reasons, we hope, will be fully laid down in the answer to the said book.

Henry Adis, Richard Pilgrim, William Cox, in behalf of themselves, and those that walk with them,

AND if any man shall question the reason why there are no more subscribers to this long declaration; we must answer them in the sorrow of our hearts, in the language of the prophet; *Wo is us, for we are as when they have gathered the summer fruits, as the grape gatherings in the vintage, there is no clusters to eat. The good man is perished out of the earth, and there is none upright amongst men;*
they

they all lie in wait for blood; they hunt every man his brother with a net. That they may do evil with both hands earnestly, the prince asketh, and the judge asketh for a reward, and the great man he uttereth his mischievous desire; so they wrap it up. The best of them is as a briar, the most upright is sharper than a thorn hedge: the day of thy watchmen, and thy visitation cometh, now shall be their perplexity.

FOR thus saith the Lord by his prophet; *Your iniquities have separated between you and your God, and your sins have hid his face from you, that he will not hear: for your hands are defiled with blood, and your fingers with iniquity, your lips have spoken lies, your tongues have mutter'd perverseness. None calleth for justice, nor any pleadeth for truth; they trust in vanity, and speak lies; they conceive mischief, and bring forth iniquity. They hatch cockatrice eggs, and weave the spider's web; he that eateth of their eggs dieth, and that which is crushed breaketh out into a viper. Their webs shall not become garments, neither shall they cover themselves with their works: their works are works of iniquity, and the act of violence is in their hands. Their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood: their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity, wasting and destruction is in their paths. The way of peace they know not, and there is no judgment in their goings: they have made them crooked paths: whosoever goeth therein, shall not know peace. Therefore is judgment far from us; we wait for light, but behold obscurity; for brightness, but we walk in dark-*

Isa. lix. 2.

darkness; and so read on to the 18th verse. According to their deeds, accordingly he will pay, fury to his adversaries, recompence to his enemies, to the islands he will repay recompence.

BUT lest any man should think us to be what we are not, by what hath been inserted in our paper, after our subscriptions, we shall in fine declare, That, in the presence of God, that what we have said, is against sinful actions, and not persons.

THERE are *three* or *four* lines following so torn in some parts of them, that I chose rather to omit them than supply, for fear of mistake.

F I N I S.



ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Third *Volume* of the *History of the English Baptists* is ready for the Press, and will be sent thither as soon as the Subscriptions are compleated. It will contain the like number of sheets, be printed with the same letter, and upon as good paper as the former volumes. The price to the Subscribers will be *Four Shillings* in sheets, or *Five Shillings* neatly bound in calf. Those who subscribe for *Six* to have a *Seventh* gratis.

Chap. I. of this *Volume* will contain an account of those *Baptist* ministers who were ejected or silenced by or before the *Act of Uniformity*, or otherwise suffer'd on account of their ministry. Besides those already mentioned, in *Vol. II.* I have obtained some account of these following, *viz.*

Robert Brown	Thomas Grantham	James Wilmot
John Harding	Henry Danvers	—— Tidmarsh
Robert Steed	William Jeffery	John Amory
—— Williams	John Reeve	Thomas Burges
Paul Frewin	Henry Forty	James Hind
Joseph Head	Thomas Wilcox	Peter Coles
Abraham Chear	Isaac Lamb	John Sanger
Paul Hobson	George Hammon	Roger Applin
Thomas Hardcastle	Richard Hobs	John Tredwell
George Fownes	Charles M. Duveil	Francis Stanley
John Miles	Edward Morecock	John Grunden
Thomas Froud	Samuel Taverner	Stephen Curtis
John Skinner	Thomas Plant	Joseph Slater
Laurence Wise	William Pardoe	Benjamin Morley
John St. Nicholas	John Denne	Hercules Collins
Will. Woodward	Manasseh King	Joseph Davis
Thomas Jennings	Jonath. Jennings	George Sanders
—— Baker	Joseph Wright	Rich. Drinkwater
John Smith	Matthew Coffin	Thomas Bowes
Thomas Paxford	John Eccles	John Maulden
Henry Haggar	Richard Farmer	Benjamin Keach
John Canne	—— Gamman	Andrew Gifford
Thomas Patient	John Griffith	Joseph Masters
Thomas Lamb	Stephen Dagnal	Richard Allein
John Gosnold	John Miller	Richard Adams
John Bunyan		

These are all at present I have any account of. If any thing further be communicated in due time, a due regard shall be had thereunto, without respect of persons.

W H E R E.

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A Key to open Scripture Metaphors.

And also His

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